# THE FRIENDLY MONTAGNAIS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS IN THE UNGAVA PENINSULA

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by

FRANCIS HARPER

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COVER: Montagnais *portageurs* from Seven Islands. Knob Lake, Quebec, June 22, 1953. (Francis McKenzie in center of front row.)

To
Dr. Herbert L. Ley, Jr.
with the regards of
Francis Harper

May 26, 1964

# THE FRIENDLY MONTAGNAIS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS IN THE UNGAVA PENINSULA

# The Friendly Montagnais and Their Neighbors in the Ungava Peninsula

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*Miscellaneous Publication No. 37, pp. 1–120, 20 plates*

*Published April 20, 1964*

Biological investigations in this region in 1953 were supported by the Arctic Institute of North America (through contractual arrangements with the Office of Naval Research) and by the Research and Development Division, Office of The Surgeon General, Department of the Army. The results are being prepared for publication under a grant from the National Science Foundation.

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THE ALLEN PRESS
Lawrence, Kansas
1964

# THE FRIENDLY MONTAGNAIS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS IN THE UNGAVA PENINSULA

Francis Harper

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"One would wish the Eskimos and Indians of Ungava and Northern Labrador to join that select academy of uncrushable small peoples that includes as distinguished members the Lapps, the Faroese, the people of Tristan da Cunha, some Arawaks and Dyaks, and the Mexican Indians."
(Elton, 1942:363.)

A brief summer's experience (in 1953) with certain members of the Seven Islands or Moisie band of Montagnais Indians has left me with a distinct impression that friendliness is one of their outstanding characteristics. (Self-possession, I might add, is another.) Evidently Couper had a similar feeling in regard to the Mingan band some 95 years ago, and Tanner in regard to the Montagnais-Naskapi of Davis Inlet and Northwest River in quite recent years, if we may judge by the quotations from their works that are presented on subsequent pages.

How, then, are we to interpret the subtitle of Professor Speck's volume of 1935: *Naskapi: Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula*? Here he used the term "Naskapi" to include the Montagnais of the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence as well as the true Naskapi of the northern interior. In fact, my late friend and neighbor made no very sharp distinction between the two tribes and frequently gave them the joint designation of "Montagnais-Naskapi." Perhaps we shall have a better understanding of the word "savage" in the book's subtitle if we interpret it as primitive or untutored, rather than as fierce or barbarous.

In much earlier times, however—say in the 1600's—there was no doubt at all as to the savage nature of the Montagnais. One who reads Parkman's *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* is likely to gain from that volume a shuddering impression of the unspeakable tortures practiced by this tribe on their native enemies and on some of the Jesuit fathers as well.

Works on Indians of North America in general (for example, *Handbook of North American Indians,* Parts 1 and 2, 1907 and 1910; E. S. Curtis, 1907–1930; Palmer, 1929; Kroeber, 1939; Wissler, 1940; Swanton, 1952; Driver and Massey, 1957) or of Canada in particular (for example, Jenness, 1955; Leechman, 1957?) give comparatively little (or even no) space to the Indians of the Ungava Peninsula. In order, therefore, to prepare a compendium no more ambitious than the present one on the characteristics and distribution of the several tribes (or subtribes), it has been necessary to assemble the information from many sources, most of them dealing with merely a segment of the Indian population of the entire peninsula.

### Differentiation Between Montagnais, Naskapi, and Cree

"The Naskopies, Mountaineers [Montagnais], and Moose River Indians are sprung from the same stock, the Cree, extending over the centre of British North America. They are not sufficiently differentiated to be classed as dialectically distinct; although the linguistic differences between the Naskopies and Moose River Indians are greater than between the Naskopies and the Mountaineers.

"Physically, the Naskopie appears to be between the two; the Moose River (or East Main) Indian is the taller, somewhat stouter, darker-skinned, and the better man of the two. The Mountaineers are of smaller stature, well built and also of dark color." (Turner, 1888: 109.)

"The number [of Naskapi words] obtained . . . is sufficient to prove that the people of this region [Fort Chimo] . . . belong to the Cree branch. The Mountaineers and Little Whale River Indians belong to the same stock, and the difference in their language is due wholly to environment." (Turner, 1894:184.)

"The western people [Eastern Cree along James and Hudson bays] differ greatly in customs and many words of their language from the Nenenots [Naskapi]. The mountaineers differ but little in their customs, and only in speech as much as would be expected from the different locality in which they dwell." (Turner, 1894:267.)

Low (1896:44–45) distinguishes no less than four Indian groups in the Ungava Peninsula:

"The principal tribes of Labrador are the Montagnais, the eastern and western Nascaupees, and the coastal Indians of Hudson Bay. The Montagnais inhabit the country extending south of a line drawn westward from Hamilton Inlet, to the headwaters of the St. Maurice River. The Nascaupees inhabit the interior country north of this line, or from the bottom of James Bay eastward to Hamilton Inlet. The northern limit of their territory is marked by the Koksoak River, from its mouth to the Stillwater Branch [Larch River], and by this stream . . . westward to Richmond Gulf on Hudson Bay. This line divides the Indian territory from that of the Eskimo, and the boundary is well observed, the latter keeping far to the north of it, when hunting deer inland, and the Indians rarely crossing it from the southward.

"The coastal Indians of Hudson Bay are confined to a narrow margin extending from the bottom of James Bay to Little Whale River, along the east coast." (While Low did not here give a tribal name to this last group, he evidently had in mind what others have variously

called the Eastern Cree, Swampy Cree, Mistassini-Cree, or James Bay Cree.)

"The Montagnais of Lake St. John speak a somewhat different dialect from that of Bersimis, and it again differs from the dialects of Mingan or Northwest River. These differences of dialect in the same tribe are slight, and are mostly in the slang and interjections. The same differences apply to the dialects of the Nascaupee, Mistassini and Nichicun, differing from that of Fort Chimo, and all from that of [Great?] Whale River and Rupert House. But these differences are all so small that the Montagnais canoemen conversed readily with the natives at Mistassini, Nichicun, Fort Chimo and Northwest River, and were only slightly puzzled on the coast of Hudson Bay, where the number of Ojibway words is greater." (Low, 1896:46.)

According to natives of Rupert House and East Main, "the Mistassini band is not specifically differentiated in any way from the groups whose trading quarters are at Rupert House and at East Main River . . . . Culturally and linguistically there is the closest similarity between them, and were it not for the separate habitat, the separate headquarters, the separate chieftaincies, together with a certain consciousness of independence of each other, there would be little need to employ different designations for the three bands." (Speck, 1923:453.)

"For dialectic reasons the Rupert House and East Main Indians should be identified with the Mistassini and Montagnais." (Speck, 1923:457.) On the other hand, according to Michelson (1939:70, fig. 12), the Rupert House, East Main, Mistassini, and Nichicun bands speak a *y*-dialect, while the Montagnais proper (from Lake St. John to Seven Islands) speak an *l*-dialect.

Speck (1926*b*) has a further discussion of tribal relationships:

"The customs and speech of the bands throughout the Labrador Peninsula are in the wider sense essentially uniform. Differentiation is chiefly noticeable between the smaller bands located on the southern watershed toward the St. Lawrence, those on the northern or Ungava and Atlantic watershed, and thirdly those in that portion of the peninsula facing towards Hudson Bay. There has been in the past a tendency among ethnologists to classify these groupings as though they possessed tribal differentiation, by referring to them as Montagnais, Naskapi and Cree, respectively. There seems, however, to be little real cause for this terminology, since neither group-consciousness nor internal political relationship can be shown for the same areas, no fixed dialectic properties and no definite culture anal-

ogies appear to mark them out distinctly within the geographical boundaries mentioned for them. As for racial characteristics, similar types, in head form, face width, complexion and stature, seem, from available data, equally dispersed over the whole extent of the population. . . . [Pp. 274–275.]

"It would then be more appropriate, I believe, to refer to the Indians of the whole area as Montagnais-Naskapi, there being some authority in earlier literature for the retention of these two names. The designation of the bands on the eastern coast of James and Hudson Bay as Cree, by Skinner, proves upon further test to be for the present inadvisable, in view of the fact that the dialects here possess affinities with those of the Labrador interior as much as with the Cree proper. . . . And again a correction may be made in the prevailing opinion, one much promulgated by ethnological writers, that the Height of Land, forming the watershed between the St. Lawrence and the Arctic drainage area, is a boundary dividing the so-called Montagnais on the southern side from the so-called Naskapi on the north. It turns out, indeed, that the inhabitants of the southern coasts, from about Seven Islands eastward, are, in both speech and habit, almost identical with the interior groups recognized as true Naskapi, and hence deserve inclusion with them. . . . [P. 275.]

"From a cultural and at the same time a dialectic viewpoint, the whole peninsula falls into three subdivisions, the most extensive and the most simplified one is that covering the whole northern, the central and eastern territory, . . . from Lake Nichicun . . . north to Ungava Bay . . . , east to the Atlantic Labrador coast . . . . The same grouping embraces the southeastern coast, coming up into the Gulf of St. Lawrence about as far as Seven Islands . . . . This is the area to which the term Naskapi has been applied quite generally in the past, and we may still refer to the bands within it by the same name. . . . From this point on, ascending the Gulf and river coast of the St. Lawrence to a little above Quebec . . . , and then sweeping northward to a point, above Lake St. John, about Lat. 51, Long. 72, and eastward following the Height of Land back to the longitude of Seven Islands, is the boundary of the traditional Montagnais cultural and dialectic type. The Indians realize marked differences between the bands occupying the interior and those near the coasts. . . . The northwestern sector finally, from below Rupert House and Rupert River northward as far as the uninhabited region north of Lake Minto . . . and east to about latitude [= longitude] 72, is characterized by a set of dialectic and cultural factors entitling it to recognition at present as another

separate subdivision. It remains as yet an actually unknown block. For this group we may propose the name of Mistassini-Cree . . . . It might be unnecessary to give this group a separate name were it not for the divergence of their speech, in respect to phonetics, from that of the accepted Naskapi type in the central and eastern interior." (Pp. 276–277.)

In a later work (1935) Speck shows less than complete consistency in adhering to the dual appellation of Montagnais-Naskapi. The following quotations from it show that he found it convenient to maintain separate designations in various cases. "The Montagnais of Lake St. John" (p. 91). "From another quarter of the Naskapi territory, this time from the Mistassini" (p. 119). "The modes of procedure in scapulimancy [among the Naskapi] are similar to those among the Montagnais" (p. 147). "The Naskapi, ranging from Seven Islands east and north" (p. 147). "The pack strings of the Mistassini Indians are even more highly conventionalized than those of the Montagnais" (p. 207). "The St. Augustin band of Naskapi" (p. 213).

In accord with Speck's attitude, my late revered friend, Dr. John R. Swanton, says (1952:581): "The nearest relatives" of the Montagnais-Naskapi are "the Cree from whom they are set off by certain phonetic peculiarities." The separation of the Naskapi "is without sufficient justification."

The title of Lips' treatise (1947)—"Naskapi Law (Lake St. John and Lake Mistassini Bands)"—is somewhat startling in view of the fact that practically all authorities regard the Lake St. John Indians as Montagnais, while a good number of them (for example, Skinner, Cabot, Jenness, Tanner, Leechman) classify the Mistassini Indians as Eastern Cree. Lips, like Speck, makes constant use of the expression "Montagnais-Naskapi."

It would scarcely be meet for one without any pretensions to competence in ethnology to take serious issue with the scholars who minimize the differences between the Cree, the Montagnais, and the Naskapi. It may not be out of place, however, to quote a few further opinions on the subject.

The *Handbook of American Indians* (Bur. Am. Ethnology Bull. 30, pt. 1, 1907, and pt. 2, 1910) treats the Cree, the Montagnais, and the Naskapi separately.

Half a century ago Alanson Skinner, a friend of my youthful days, made two summer trips to James Bay and subsequently published an extensive treatise (1911) on the Eastern Cree whom he had visited and investigated on both sides of the bay. His map (1911:10,

fig. 1) shows the territory of the Eastern Cree (or "Muskeko-wug") as including all the eastern tributaries of James Bay and of the adjacent part of Hudson Bay northward through the Great Whale River basin. The eastern and northern boundaries, in the Ungava Peninsula, extend to and include Lake Mistassini, Nichicun Lake, the Great Whale and Little Whale rivers, and some of the headwaters of the Larch River, which drains into Ungava Bay. The same map places the Montagnais on the northern tributaries of the St. Lawrence River and Gulf, and the Naskapi on the tributaries of Ungava Bay and about the headwaters of the Hamilton River.

Michelson (1939:70) disagrees decidedly with Skinner's classification: "It can not be too strongly emphasized that east of Hannah Bay [at the south end of James Bay] Cree leaves off and Montagnais-Naskapi begins. Mistassini, Waswanipi, Rupert's House, East Main, Nichigun, Fort George and the Great Whale River bands are *y*-dialects . . . of Montagnais-Naskapi to which the dialect spoken at the northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau may now be added. That the Fort George and Great Whale River bands distinctly form a subgroup within this larger one is confirmed."

He adds on a later page (86): "I am compelled to state that the map and accompanying remarks by A. Skinner . . . (1911) is [*sic*] practically without value . . . . The author had insufficient skill to know what linguistically is Cree and what is Montagnais-Naskapi." Michelson's map (p. 72, fig. 12) indicates all the Indian territory of the Ungava Peninsula as occupied by the Montagnais-Naskapi. However, it does show three different areas in this territory, each characterized by a different dialect. Actually, these areas are correlated fairly well with the distribution of the three different tribes or tribal subdivisions recognized by others: the *y*-dialect among the Cree, the *n*-dialect among the Naskapi, and the *l*-dialect among the Montagnais. The last dialect, however, is not represented as extending eastward beyond Seven Islands. (There is a divergence of opinion among ethnologists as to whether the natives of the eastern part of the North Shore are Montagnais or Naskapi.)

Nearly all authors (other than Speck and Michelson), both before and after Skinner, that I have consulted, seem to be in fairly general agreement with his views on the distribution of the Indian tribes of the Ungava Peninsula. They at least distinguish the population of the Hudson and James bays drainage from that of the rest of the peninsula, and some of them (Low, 1890; Cabot, 1922; Kroeber, 1939; Neilson, 1948; Jenness, 1955; Leechman, 1957?; J. W. Anderson, 1961)

designate this population as Cree. With the free movement of individuals, especially in later years, to the territories of other bands and tribes, it must be expected that the speech characteristic of one tribe may easily be found here and there among other tribes. Michelson's is essentially a *linguistic classification,* as indicated by the title of his paper.

The reader of Cabot's fascinating pages (1912) on the true Naskapi of the George River area—pure-blooded, fiercely independent in nature, largely self-sufficient in their local resources, living primarily on the Barren Ground caribou and clad mainly in the skins of these animals until recent decades—finds it difficult (to say the least) to associate them very closely in his mind with the urbane, friendly, obliging, and quite civilized North Shore Montagnais of the present day. The Naskapi, "as untamed aborigines, Stone Age people, . . . lay hold of one. The look in their eyes is the look of the primitive man of the open." (Cabot, 1912:86.) But even these Naskapi, as represented by the remnants that were starved out of the interior by the caribou scarcity some forty years ago and have clustered about the eastern and northern coastal settlements, are no longer the primitives such as he knew. And how my old friend would deplore the change! He himself used to tell me in the '20's, on occasionally dropping in for a chat with me at the Boston Society of Natural History, how he not only lived somewhat like an Indian when in Labrador, but got so that he *felt Indian.*

The Naskapi men, as revealed in Cabot's photographs, appear rather tall and spare. The Montagnais are generally of no more than medium height (see cover; pl. 4, fig. 2), and some, though not all, of them incline toward chunkiness. Prichard (1911:195) discusses physical differences between the two peoples. They talk to each other with difficulty; so I was informed by Ben McKenzie, of the Moisie or Seven Islands group. While their kinship is evident from a general similarity in their names of birds and other animals, these names are not usually identical in the two languages.

"In general, the Montagnais are rather badly clothed in trading-store furnishings. The Nascaupees are still considerably in skins, some, in fact, with no cloth garments at all." (Cabot, 1922:209.)

"The Naskopi and Montagnais intermingle freely, intermarry and are able to converse without difficulty. In physical appearance also, there is considerable resemblance." (Waugh, 1925:128.)

Watkins remarks (1930:120): "From what I have heard and read

of the Naskaupis, they seem to be far more primitive than the Montagnais."

Some of the attributes, both physical and psychological, that distinguish the present-day Montagnais from their more northerly kin, are doubtless due to a considerable admixture of French blood, along with some Scottish. These admixtures are reflected in their names. Several centuries ago, when both tribes were practically pure-blooded, the differences between them were doubtless much less pronounced than today. It is evident that a part of the once primitive Montagnais have actually been undergoing a process that the late Joseph Grinnell would have termed "extinction through dilution."

Speck's above-quoted references to the "Naskapi ranging from Seven Islands east" and to the "St. Augustin band of Naskapi" are not readily reconcilable with other statements regarding tribal affiliations on the eastern part of the North Shore. J. J. Audubon remarks (in M. R. Audubon, 1897:376) concerning Montagnais at Natashquan in 1833: "All were dressed in European costume except the feet, on which coarse moccasins of sealskin took the place of shoes." Bryant (1913:5) mentions pure-blooded Montagnais at St. Augustin River. Townsend (1913:171–172; 1917:138; 1918:55, 178–179) speaks of Montagnais at Natashquan and Grand Romaine and on St. Augustin River. "Today, Mingan, Romaine and St. Augustin are the major Montagnais centres of the remote easterly coast" (Miss Leitch, 1956:20). Miss Leacock (1954:18, map 3) includes the Seven Islands, Mingan, and Natashquan bands among the Montagnais. Perhaps these differences of opinion are explainable by considering that certain Naskapi elements may have infiltrated, and become amalgamated with, the Montagnais of the eastern part of the North Shore.

"Three different types of Indians are encountered in Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. The hunting grounds of the shrill-voiced Nascopie Indians lie in the interior of the Labrador-Quebec Peninsula. They pay an annual trade visit to Fort Chimo . . . . The southern half of Hudson Bay from Great Whale River on the east coast to York Factory on the west coast is the coastal limit of the Swampy Cree Indians. A fairly large percentage of them are coastal—that is to say, they live and trap along the coast-line within the vicinity of the posts. But the majority of them have their trapping grounds inland and only visit the main trading posts of the Bay during the spring and summer." (Binney, 1929:13.)

"The Crees . . . extend from James Bay up the west coast of Quebec Peninsula, hunting partly inland also. The rest is country of Nascopies and Montagnais. . . . The broad tribal differences between the Indians may be narrower than this [the uncomplimentary name applied by the Montagnais to the Naskapi and the complimentary name applied by the Naskapi to themselves] would make them seem, and American ethnologists favour the portmanteau term 'Nascopie-Montagnais' which is more correct but lacks the convenience of a portmanteau." (Elton, 1942:249.)

Tanner (1947, 2) expresses himself as follows on differentiation:

"The customs and speech of the bands throughout the Labrador Peninsula are in the wider sense essentially uniform, but differentiation is noticeable between the smaller bands located (a) on the southern watershed toward the St. Lawrence, (b) on the northern or Ungava and Atlantic watershed and (c) in the portion facing towards Hudson Bay" (p. 586).

After reviewing the opinions of Speck and others on the differentiation of the Montagnais and the Naskapi, Tanner grants (p. 587) that Speck "has entered upon an appropriate and practical path" in referring to "these geographical groupings . . . as Montagnais-Naskaupee." But he continues:

"No real, thorough ethnological distinction can be clearly shown to exist between the two territorial clans, the Naskaupee and the Montagnais. The small differences which can be traced in their sociology and their material culture will probably be taken by many ethnologists to be only nuances of the basic characteristics. In spite of this I think that for the most important practical reasons the two groups must be kept apart in the following presentation. . . . If . . . we take an anthropogeographical view of the questions which interest us here I think we can find an acceptable systemization." (Pp. 587–588.)

"It seems to me that the same more or less subconscious conception of, let us say, two different derivatives of the hunting life is vaguely present in the minds of the white population of Labrador when they speak of the Naskaupee and the Montagnais. It should be specially mentioned that the managers of the H.B.C. stations, who may be reckoned as best acquainted with the Labrador Indians whose language they speak, continue to differentiate between the Montagnais and the Naskaupee. Also among them it seems to be just on the nature of the hunting grounds and its consequences that the differentiation of the two great groups is based." (P. 590.)

"According to what some Montagnais told me, the language of the Barren Ground Naskaupee differs so much from their southern kinsmen that they had sometimes difficulty in understanding each other, a fact showing that they represent different clans which have lived apart for a rather long time" (p. 664).

As a mere zoologist and zoogeographer, not properly qualified to express an ethnological opinion, I shall merely remark that I find it easy and natural to abide by Tanner's view.

Jenness (1955:270–274), while discussing the Montagnais and the Naskapi in the same pages, nevertheless distinguishes the two tribes in name, territory, material culture, and burial customs:

"These two tribes . . . were the first to come into close contact with Europeans, yet they have remained, in some districts, almost more primitive than any other Indians of Canada. . . . The territory of the Montagnais comprised the huge square bounded on one side by the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence between the St. Maurice river and Seven Islands, on the other by the height of land that separates the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence from those flowing into James Bay. The Naskapi occupied a still larger area; they roamed the entire Labrador peninsula east of a line from Seven Islands to lake Nichikun, and a second from lake Nichikun to Ungava bay, with the exception of the narrow belt of coast-line from Ungava bay to the strait of Belle Isle, which was controlled by Eskimo. [Pp. 270–271.]

"Both the Montagnais and the Naskapi . . . were nomadic peoples ignorant of agriculture and living exclusively by hunting and fishing. Their dialects were almost identical, and their customs so closely alike that the two tribes were hardly distinguishable. . . . The Montagnais country was a well-wooded area abounding in moose, whereas much of the Naskapi territory was open plateau covered with grasses and lichens [Here Jenness scarcely allows for a sufficient proportion of forested lands in the Naskapi territory.—F. H.], the natural feeding-ground for herds of barren ground caribou. The Montagnais, therefore, covered their conical wigwams with birch bark and hunted principally the moose during the winter months, moving down the rivers in the spring to spear salmon and eels, and to harpoon the seals that were then plentiful along the shores of the St. Lawrence. The Naskapi, on the other hand, covered their wigwams with caribou skin, and hunted the caribou from midsummer until early spring, when some of them moved down to the coast, like the Montagnais, while others remained inland to fish in various lakes and rivers, and to hunt hares, porcupines, and other small game. [P. 271.]

"The southern Montagnais . . . generally went bare-headed in winter . . . . But the harsher climate in the interior of the Labrador peninsula compelled the Naskapi, and some of the more northern Montagnais, to adopt the tailored shirt of the coastal Eskimo, and to fit it occasionally with a hood for winter use. . . . [P. 272.]

"The Montagnais wrapped their dead in birch bark, buried them in the ground . . . ; but the Naskapi deposited them on scaffolds or suspended them from trees" (p. 273).

"Contact with Europeans was disastrous to both tribes . . . . Later, the game supply diminished owing to intensive slaughter with fire-arms . . . . The struggle for existence then became harder and starvation more frequent. The fur trade helped the Indians until white men encroached on their best trapping and hunting grounds; then it called for greater effort and yielded diminishing returns. Measles and other diseases decimated their ranks, and many of the interior natives, urged by missionaries to settle on the coast, fell victims to lung afflictions aggravated by the damp sea air.

"So both the Montagnais and the Naskapi declined rapidly. Today the two tribes combined number less than four thousand. Most of the survivors are still hunters and trappers, more or less enchained to the trading-posts where they dispose of their furs for rifles, ammunition, woollen clothing, cloth tents, sewing-machines, gramaphones, and other products of our modern civilization. The Naskapi in the centre and north of the Labrador peninsula have been too isolated to mingle much with Europeans, but the majority of the Montagnais carry an infusion of white blood in their veins." (P. 274.)

Contrary to what Jenness has said (1955:271) regarding the moose and the Barren Ground caribou as the primary game animals of the Montagnais and the Naskapi, respectively, it was the eastern woodland caribou, rather than the moose, that filled this role for the Montagnais up to the end of the last century (see Chambers, 1896: 293), and it still does so in the more easterly parts of their territory. Comeau, in his classic on the North Shore (1923:154), tells of a Montagnais drive in the Godbout area in which 81 of these caribou were killed, but he apparently says nothing of the Montagnais hunting moose. In his day the caribou was fairly common as far west as the vicinity of Quebec City. It is only in recent years that the moose has extended its range eastward from the Saguenay to the Moisie River (Harper, 1961:129).

While the ethnologists are discussing the degree of differentiation between Cree, Naskapi, and Montagnais, it is perhaps fitting that

these peoples themselves should be heard on the subject. They apply distinctive names to the three groups. While it may still be a question whether each group is a tribe by itself or whether all three are merely subdivisions of a single tribe, it is highly convenient to recognize each group by a name known to, and used by, the natives, from days of long ago.

In all this discussion, it may be just as well to bear in mind the following remarks by Barbeau (1927:48–52). If they sound pessimistic, perhaps they are justifiably so. It is unfortunate that the science of ethnology could not have become full-fledged several centuries ago, when the earth and its peoples were certainly in far more natural condition than today, and probably in a more promising condition as well.

"The racial characteristics of our aborigines—their features, their bodies, their aptitudes, their intelligence—have, in the last centuries, changed almost beyond recognition . . . .

"No native at the present day can boast in all certitude of an unmixed ancestry. . . .

"The leggings, . . . the pointed hat of the Naskopi, . . . were all introduced by the traders and the missionaries . . . .

"The ethnologist is a fool who so far deceives himself as to believe that his field notes and specimens, gathered in the raw from half-breeds or decrepit survivors of a past age, still represent the unadulterated knowledge or crafts of the prehistoric races of America."

## Geographical and Ecological Distribution of Indian Tribes in the Ungava Peninsula

At this point it may be in order to review the distribution of all three Indian tribes of the Ungava Peninsula from, say, the latter part of the nineteenth century to the present time. For their distribution in still earlier days, Speck (1931:558–572) may be consulted.

This author (1931:565, map 2) shows the "approximate location, since about 1850, of local groups or bands of Montagnais-Naskapi." All the Indians of the peninsula are treated under this designation, without any sharp distinction into the three separate tribes that have been recognized by certain other authors. Speck writes (1931:576) of "retaining the terms Montagnais and Naskapi in a general sense for the inhabitants of the Labrador peninsula, by using the form Montagnais-Naskapi agreed upon by Hallowell and myself for the group as a whole."

For the purposes of the present paper, the list below indicates the tribal affiliations of the various bands named by Speck:

*Eastern Cree*

Nichicun Band
Mistassini Band
Rupert House Band
East Main Band
Big River Band
White Whale River Band

[White Whale River is an old designation of Little Whale River (see Prov. Quebec Bur. Mines, Extracts from reports on the district of Ungava or New Quebec, ed. 3:204, 1929).]

*Naskapi*

Ungava Band
Barren Ground Band

*Montagnais-Naskapi (of mixed origin)*

Northwest River Band
Davis Inlet Band

*Montagnais*

Lake St. John Band
Chicoutimi Band
Tadousac Band
Escoumains Band
Bersimis Band
Godbout Band
Shelter Bay Band
Ste. Marguerite Band
Moisie Band
Mingan Band
Natashquan Band
Musquaro Band
St. Augustin Band
Michikamau Band
Petitsikapau Band
Kaniapiskau Band

In his text, Speck (1931:580–598) presents notes on the native names, history, population, hunting territories and systems, trading centers, and organization of these 26 bands.

In general, the distribution of the three tribes has corresponded rather closely to the several great drainage systems of the peninsula: the Eastern Cree on the waters flowing into James Bay and the southeastern part of Hudson Bay; the Naskapi in the basins of the Koksoak, Whale, and George rivers, which are tributary to Ungava Bay; and the Montagnais in the St. Lawrence and Hamilton basins, which are tributary to the Atlantic. Such an approximate distribution has been indicated on maps by Skinner (1911:10, fig. 1), Kroeber (1939: map 1a, in end pocket), Tanner (1947, 2:474, fig. 222, and 584–585, fig. 253), Jenness (1955:map 270A, in end pocket), and Leechman (1957?:23).

"These three tribes have distinct boundaries, beyond which they seldom wander. Of late years, however, a gradual influx of the western people has poured into the Ungava district, due to the decrease of the food supply along that portion of the eastern coast of Hudson Bay." (Turner, 1894:267.)

"Along the eastern coast of James Bay, as far north as Little Whale River, are to be found the Eastern Cree. . . .

"There is . . . some interchange of [Naskapi] population between the George River and the Fort Chimo regions. In 1921 there were three Fort Chimo men and a boy in the George River band." (Waugh, 1925:128.)

Wissler (1940:51, map) indicates the Eastmain and Hamilton rivers as the dividing-line between the Naskapi and the Montagnais, and restricts the Eastern Cree to northeastern Ontario near James Bay.

Kroeber (1939:map 1a, in end pocket) shows Montagnais territory extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence north to Hamilton River and Lake Kaniapiskau, west to include the Lake St. John area, and east to include the St. Augustin and St. Paul rivers; the Naskapi territory, to the north of that of the Montagnais, but not including a coastal strip extending all the way from Hamilton Inlet in the east to Cape Jones in the west; the Cree territory, from beyond the southwestern boundary of the peninsula northward to include Lake Mistassini and the lower half of the basin of Eastmain River. This map "attempts to indicate tribal territories [of North America] approximately as they were constituted at the time of the first occupation by Europeans" (p. 8).

"The Nascopies of the Ungava band . . . ranged for the most part in the Koksoak and Whale River valleys and adjacent uplands, centered on Fort Chimo for their trade" (Elton, 1942:250–251).

Tanner's map (1947, 2:474, fig. 222) shows the Montagnais territory extending from the Lake St. John area east to the Atlantic Coast south of Hamilton Inlet, and north from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lakes Kaniapiskau, Petitsikapau, Michikamau, and Melville; the Naskapi territory, from the northern boundary of the Montagnais nearly to Ungava Bay, and including most of the basins of the Kaniapiskau, Whale, and George rivers; the Muskeko-wug (Cree) territory, "occupying the drainage system of the east side of James and Hudson Bays north to Clearwater Lake."

Jenness' map 270A (1955:in end pocket) "attempts to show the locations of the tribes [Cree, Montagnais, and Naskapi] immediately before the fur trade brought about widespread disturbances" (that is to say, about 1525 A.D.). These locations are based upon Speck (1926*b*:274–277), who "has relied mainly on the material culture. His boundaries would have to be greatly changed if linguistic differences were made the criterion." (P. 423.)

"On the north [the Cree] were bounded [in former times] by the coast-line from Eastmain river nearly to Churchill; on the east by lakes Mistassini and Nichikun" (p. 283).

Teal (1955:153) recognizes the three groups: Mountaineers (Montagnais), Little Whale River Indians (Eastern Cree), and Naskapi; he provides no detailed information on the distribution

of the Naskapi, and only a few words as to that of the two other tribes.

A map in Leechman (1957?:22) shows the boundary between the Naskapi and the Cree (here labeled Mistassini-Cree) extending from Lake Mistassini to Lake Nichicun, and thence northward (west of the Kaniapiskau River) to about latitude 57°. From this point the western boundary of the Cree territory curves southwestward to the mouth of Eastmain River, but does not reach the coast north of the latter point. This territory includes practically all the drainage of the east side of Hudson and James bays north to Clearwater Lake, with the exception of the lowermost portions of the rivers north of the Eastmain. No definite boundary between the Swampy Cree (or Mistassini Cree) and the more western Cree is indicated. This map (except for the above-mentioned coastal strip) corresponds rather closely to Skinner's (1911:10, fig. 1).

J. W. Anderson (1961:54) extends the territory of the James Bay Cree eastward to Mistassini and southward to Waswanipi.

Within the peninsula, the distribution of the three tribes is correlated at least to some extent with geological, climatic, and biotic conditions. Their entire range is virtually restricted to the Canadian Shield (see Bruce, 1939:232, map; Kimble and Good, 1955:12, fig. 2; Geol. Survey Canada, map 1045A, 1955). The territories of the Eastern Cree and the Naskapi lie mainly in the Hudsonian Life-zone, while that of the Montagnais is mainly in the Canadian Life-zone (*cf.* Harper, 1958:17, map 1, and 1961:17, map 2), though projecting well up into the Hudsonian in the central interior. Neither of the other two tribes is restricted wholly to its principal life-zone. The Naskapi, in former days, hunted caribou to some extent in the Arctic Life-zone, but this treeless region was scarcely a natural or permanent home for them, in view of their dependence upon wood for warmth and cooking. (Swanton [1946:19–20] discusses a certain correlation between life-zones and the former distribution of Indian tribes in the Southeastern United States.)

An isotherm representing a mean January daily temperature of –5° F. (see Thomas, 1953:chart 1–1) separates most of the Eastern Cree and the Naskapi from most of the Montagnais. The first two tribes range northward to a January isotherm of approximately –12° to –14°; and the Montagnais southward to a January isotherm of +8° to +10°. Humidity (or vapor pressure) becomes progressively less toward the north at all seasons of the year (Thomas, 1953:charts 2–1, 2–2, 2–3, 2–4). Thus the Naskapi and the Eastern Cree experience,

in general, less humidity than the Montagnais. The Montagnais have to contend with a considerably greater annual snowfall (120 to 200 inches, except in the Lake St. John area, where it is 100 inches) than the other two tribes, which have, over most of their area, from 100 to 120 inches (Thomas, 1953:chart 4–3). The mean annual rainfall also is greater in Montagnais territory (about 18 to 27 inches), compared with about 10 to 20 inches in Naskapi and Cree territory (Thomas, 1953:chart 5–2). There is comparatively little variation in mean wind speed over the entire peninsula—about 10 to 15 miles per hour at all seasons (Thomas, 1953:charts 3–6, 3–7, 3–8, 3–9). The mean annual total hours of bright sunshine vary from about 1,600 on the North Shore of the Gulf to about 1,400 in the north at latitude 57° (Thomas, 1953:chart 6–1). The territories of the Eastern Cree and the Montagnais lie mostly to the south of the southern limit of permafrost; but the Naskapi in the lower Ungava Bay drainage area live within the zone of permafrost (Thomas, 1953:chart 8–1).

The respective ranges of the Naskapi and the Montagnais in the past may have corresponded—at least roughly—to the ranges of the two species of caribou inhabiting the Ungava Peninsula. For the principal food animal of the Naskapi was Cabot's or the Labrador Barren Ground caribou (*Rangifer caboti*), while that of the Montagnais was the eastern woodland caribou (*R. caribou caribou*). We still have none-too-exact information as to the meeting-ground or the overlapping area of the more or less complementary ranges of the two caribou. There was probably (at least in the Ashuanipi-Attikamagen-Michikamau Lakes area) some overlapping among the Naskapi and the Montagnais as well as among the two species of caribou. For example, Hind (1863, 1:239) had a report of some Naskapi families wintering as far south as the southern end of Ashuanipi Lake.

According to the meager information available (Low, 1896:70, 86, 100, 128, 318; Mrs. Hubbard, 1908:56, 81; Anderson, 1948:map; Banfield, 1949:figs. 1–2), the woodland caribou ranged over the southern part of the peninsula, north to the Eastmain River (and possibly Great Whale River), Nichicun, Kaniapiskau, Knob, Attikamagen, and Michikamau lakes, Naskaupi River, and Goose Bay; the Barren Ground caribou ranged over the northern part of the peninsula, south to Great Whale River, Bienville, Knob, and Michikamau lakes, and Goose Bay(?). The animals of the Mealy Mountains (south of Lake Melville) have been variously allocated by different authors; but it seems more likely that they belong to the woodland species, as indicated by Banfield (1949:486).

There is some discrepancy in the above-suggested correlation in the distribution of caribou and Indians. For one thing, the Naskapi have not followed the Barren Ground caribou into Eskimo territory in the extreme northeastern and northwestern parts of the Ungava Peninsula. "From Koksoak River to Hudson Bay the respective areas covered by the two races [Indians and Eskimos] are separated approximately by the line of the Nastapoka and Larch Rivers" (Cabot, 1922:197). From Lake Mistassini northward at least to Nichicun Lake, the primary big-game animal of the Eastern Cree, like that of the Montagnais farther east, was originally the woodland caribou, although in the extreme north of their territory the Cree probably found the Barren Ground caribou at certain seasons.

Under the spur of modern industrialization and through the partial failure of such an important food resource as the two species of caribou, we seem to be witnessing in recent years a general breakdown of the original boundaries of tribes and bands, especially in certain areas. On this point Miss Leacock (1954) makes some cogent remarks:

"Further field work has shown the hunting territory to be less clear cut than it first appeared to Speck." Reference is made to "the continual readjustment of band lands to fit the needs of band members." (P. 1.)

The six central bands of Speck—Petitsikapau, Kaniapiskau, Michikamau, Ste. Marguerite, Moisie, and Shelter Bay—have merged into one "by their common interest in and dependence upon the trading post at Seven Islands. . . . They are all known generally as Seven Islands Indians." (P. 19.)

"The attitudes of the present-day Montagnais toward band affiliation or attachment to a given locality are utterly casual" (p. 20).

A large and perhaps permanent congregation, in one small area, of diverse tribal elements was apparent by 1960. Several hundred representatives of the three Labrador tribes had then been attracted to the Knob Lake area by the opportunities for employment in the mining industry, and had been settled by the government in an Indian reserve on the neighboring John Lake. There were 26 Naskapi and 20 Cree families from Fort Chimo on one side of the reserve, and 50 Montagnais families (including 300 individuals) from Seven Islands and Moisie on the other side. Language barriers were said to keep the two groups separate. (Fred Farah, *in litt.*, August 5, 1960, on the basis of information supplied largely by Sebastien McKenzie.)

## Tribal Characteristics

In the following pages I have endeavored to assemble from some of the principal sources a brief account of the salient physical and psychological traits and the general manner of life of the three tribes or of certain of their subdivisions.

It is obvious that in times past, as well as recently, there has been considerable wandering on the part of the Indians of the peninsula. In their unending quest for food it has happened not merely that members of one band have entered or traversed the normal territory of a neighboring and friendly band, but that there have been similar occurrences with respect to tribal territories. These trespasses seem, in general, to have been accepted with fairly good will, or at least without outright clashes. The Cree, Naskapi, and Montagnais may have been drawn together somewhat not merely by their near relationship, but also as a result of aggression by their common enemy, the Iroquois (*cf.* Hind, 1863, 1:272; Turner, 1888:109, and 1894:267; Low, 1896:45; Cabot, 1922:201; Speck, 1931:562; Tanner, 1947, 2:580).

### *The Eastern Cree*

At Lake Mistassini (1884) "some 35 or 40 families of the Montagnais [= Cree] tribe usually summer in the neighbourhood, living on wild fowl and fish from the Lake and dispersing in autumn throughout the surrounding region to trap and hunt" (F. H. Bignell, 1885: 16).

Turner (1894), who resided at Fort Chimo from 1882 to 1884, writes on the Little Whale River Indians:

The southwestern fork [Rivière du Gué] of Larch River drains "the eastern sides of the same mountains whose western slopes are drained by the Little Whale River." This course is followed by the Little Whale River Indians to join the Naskapi of the Koksoak Valley. (P. 171.)

"The Indians dwelling to the southwest of the Ungava district differ rather more than the Mountaineers [Montagnais], in their speech, from the Indians of the Ungava district. They average, for both sexes, slightly taller than the Naskopies. The men are spare, and have small limbs and extremities. The cheek bones are also more prominent, although this is partly due to the thin visage. . . .

"In their personal habits they are much more tidy than their eastern relations. Their dress differs but little from that of their neighbors. . . . The men occupy their time in hunting and fishing. The

[woodland?] reindeer have in recent years become so scarce in the vicinity of Fort George that many of the Indians have left that locality and journeyed to the eastward, dwelling in proximity to the Naskopies, or even with them." (P. 182.)

"Their purchases are made with furs of the same kinds as those procured in the Ungava district. The black bear is procured in great numbers by these Indians." (P. 183.)

Low (1896:45) probably refers to the Eastern Cree in the following remark: "The western Nascaupees are, as a rule, the tallest men in Labrador, many of them being six feet and over in height, straight and of light physique."

Low (1890:24) writes of the Indians at Lake Mistassini:

"Twenty-six families belong to this post, about 150 persons in all. They speak a dialect of the Algonquin or Cree language, being a tribe of that great family which inhabits the country from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic. As a rule they are not of great stature, though some of the men are fine stalwart fellows, six feet tall.

"From long contact with the Hudson Bay Co. and missionaries they are all pretty well civilized, everybody being able to read and write in a kind of syllabic shorthand . . . .

"They are all perfectly honest, and would not touch provisions left in the woods even to save themselves from starvation. . . .

"Great respect is paid to the bones and flesh of the bear and beaver, their skulls are always scraped clean and set up on poles facing the sun."

Low also gives an account (1896:101) of the Indians of the Nichicun Lake area:

"These Indians belong to the western Nascaupee tribe. They speak a dialect closely resembling that of the Montagnais. . . . Owing to the small numbers of caribou killed in this region, the natives are forced to clothe themselves in garments bought from the Hudson's Bay Company. They live in wigwams covered with cotton, as they cannot get either the deer-skin used in the north or the birch bark covering of the south.

"The hunting grounds of the Indians of Nichicun extend from the height-of-land on the southward, to the head-waters of the Great Whale River on the North. To the eastward they hunt as far as Lake Kaniapiskau and down its discharge about fifty miles. There appears to be quite an extensive area between their eastern boundary and the western limit of the hunting grounds of the Hamilton River Indians . . . . [However, Sebastien McKenzie, coming probably from a

base at or near Seven Islands, was in the Opiscoteo Lake area about 1905. This is some 120 miles east of Nichicun Lake, and in the Kaniapiskau drainage system. Possibly there had been some shift in tribal boundaries by that time.—F. H.] There is also a large area without hunters on both sides of the Koksoak [Kaniapiskau] River, from where the Nichicun Indians leave off, to where those from Ungava begin, as no signs of Indians were seen along that stream for nearly 200 miles. The greatest number hunt to the westward of Nichicun, or about the head-waters and tributaries of the Big [Fort George] and East Main Rivers."

The following are excerpts from Skinner's account (1911) of the Eastern Cree along James Bay:

"The Cree themselves claim that the Naskapi are closely related to them. It is possible that the Naskapi may be a band of the former, kept primitive by their isolation from European contact. The Eastern Cree also claim a relationship with the Montagnais of Labrador." (P. 11.)

"In former times the Eastern Cree dwelt in lodges . . . of bark, skins, or brush . . . . To-day . . . they are usually covered with canvas. The skin lodge has become obsolete. . . .

"Formerly, many lodges were built of caribou skins." (P. 12.)

"In former times, leather and fur clothing was used extensively . . . . Later European garments of all sorts" have been "universally adopted. Moccasins, it is true, are still worn especially by the hunters; and rabbitskin garments and blankets are used in winter. It it not infrequent, however, to see small children dressed in clothing of the old style." (P. 14.)

Before European contact, "hooded coats of caribou skin tanned with the hair, somewhat resembling Eskimo parkas, were also worn [by the men] in winter" (p. 15).

"Coats with attached hoods made of woven rabbitskin were also used" (p. 17).

The Montagnais "sometimes come to Lake Mistassini" (p. 31).

"Owing to the scarcity of food, permanent village communities could not exist, as the Eastern Cree are obliged to scatter through the forest, a family here and a family there, often many miles apart. Usually, a man hunted with his sons and their families, but when these grew large they separated. . . .

"Now, the Cree meet at the Posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, bringing in the winter's hunt of furs to trade for the necessities of the following season. They spend from two to four weeks at the Posts

and then return to their scattered hunting grounds." (Pp. 56–57.)

"During the winter the rabbit, or hare, is the staff of life. . . . Every seventh year, it is said, that the rabbits are seized with a disease . . . which sweeps them away in great numbers. During the periods when rabbits are scarce, the Indians experience great suffering. . . . During these bad years . . . the Indians are not infrequently driven to cannibalism. There are individuals at nearly every post who have tasted human flesh under these conditions." (P. 25.)

Other foods discussed are beaver, caribou, bear, lynx, seals, whales, ducks, geese, loons, partridges, pike, and sturgeon (pp. 25–37).

"The nose, heart, and tongue of all species of the deer family are considered great delicacies" (p. 29). This reminds me of the courtesy shown a party from the Geological Survey of Canada in 1914 on the lower Taltson River, Mackenzie, when two Dogrib hunters presented us with the heart of a moose that they had just killed.

Skinner gives only a little notice to bows and arrows of the Eastern Cree. For use in games, "bows and blunt arrows . . . are seen in daily use by the Indian boys at all the Posts. The bows range from several feet to five or six inches in length." (P. 37.) A photograph of such bows and arrows, taken by Skinner, appears as plate 3, figure 2, of the present report. In olden times bows and arrows were used in wars. "The arrows were made of iron willow, and tipped with bone; the short sinew-backed bow of juniper or tamarack" (p. 78).

Cabot says (1922):

"A certain number of Indians from [Little or Great] Whale River also come to Chimo more or less regularly, perhaps more often to Fort George or other posts on Hudson Bay. . . . Their dialect is not very easy for the other Indians to understand, probably from its Ojibway affinities." (Pp. 196–197.)

"The thirty families who trade at Mistassini are . . . counted as Nascaupees. All the Indians known by this name are properly Swampy Crees. Those at Chimo say that they came originally from southwest of Hudson Bay to get away from the Iroquois." (P. 201.)

"The general life and culture of this interesting [Mistassini] group is marked by a laudable and intelligent conservativeness. The Mistassini are clean and robust and appear very healthy and well conditioned for people whose whole life is passed in the remote bush." (Speck, 1923:455.) For times of famine, there are reciprocal hunting privileges between the Mistassini and the Nichicun Indians (p. 458).

Speck (1925:60–61) refers to "the Mistassini people" as "one of the divisions of the Naskapi"; and Davidson (1928:18) refers to "the

Mistassini Naskapi band of Lake Mistassini."

By 1925 the Nichicun band had become dispersed. Only eight families remained at their old station, and made a long annual trading journey to Rupert House. Others had settled at Seven Islands. (Speck, 1931:591.) This marked change in the status and affiliations of the band is the subject of further comment by Speck and Eiseley (1942:232–234):

"The Nichikun band has been dissolved as a social unit since the abandonment of the Hudson Bay's [*sic*] Company [post] at Lake Nichikun circa 1919. . . .

"Members of this band were met with during several periods when Speck was working at Seven Islands in 1915 and 1925. Following the dispersion of the families of the band, he was told that some took up their residence with the Moisie Indians while others joined the bands west of them. . . .

"Questioning disclosed the fact that the Nichikun families did not separate and hunt or trap alone on inherited hunting grounds, as do the Montagnais south of them."

By 1910 "the hunters . . . had married or intermarried with French-speaking Indians trading at Seven Islands, and had come under the sway of priests where they had hitherto been adherents of the Church of England and, in addition to their English were using Canadian French with no less fluency than the Seven Islands natives."

The journey from the Nichicun area to Seven Islands, *across* several river systems, must have been an extraordinarily arduous one.

Although Low (1896:101) spoke of the Nichicun Indians hunting to the eastward (only?) as far as Kaniapiskau Lake, Speck and Eisley (1942:227–228) remark on "a very close connection between the Ste. Marguerite Indians and the Kaniapiskau families immediately north of them"; also on "the rather vague geographical boundaries that separate them."

Speck (1931:590–599) had assembled much of the general information then available concerning the six bands of Eastern Cree inhabiting the Ungava Peninsula, and his résumé may be consulted to advantage.

As we have seen above, the Montagnais have been undergoing amalgamation with some of the Eastern Cree as well as with the Naskapi. Speck (1931:590–591) remarks on the hunters of the Kaniapiskau band and "their annual migration to the post at Seven islands." Perhaps it was in view of this situation that Tanner (1947, 2:474, fig. 222) has included the headwaters of the Kaniapiskau

River in the territory of the Montagnais. On the other hand, Michelson remarks (1938:119): "The dialect at the northern end of Lake Kaniapiskau is obviously closely related to the dialect of Rupert's House on James Bay."

Speck (1931:592) refers to "the independent ethnic character" of the Mistassini band, which numbered, in 1915, "approximately thirty family units, with about 137 souls." He also comments (1931:593) on the White Whale [= Little Whale] River group as an "almost unknown band," with "a communal hunting range . . . north . . . to Lake Minto and Stillwater [= Larch] river and then eastward almost to Kaniapiskau river."

Tanner (1947, 2:578) refers (perhaps a little hastily) to "the Mistassini Cree" as "at present a quite unknown group."

Neilson (1948) writes of this group:

"They still observe the superstition that to look back after once leaving the shore invites certain disaster in the form of tempestuous waves and winds that spring up without warning" (p. 149).

"The Indians of the territory are the easternmost members of the widespread Cree tribe. The Mistassini band, now numbering more than six hundred, are probably amongst the most unspoiled Indians in Canada today, due almost entirely to relatively little contact with the whites. They still follow the nomadic ways of their fore-fathers, living by fishing, hunting and trapping." (Pp. 150–151.)

"The members of the band differ considerably in appearance. Those from the southern part of the territory, including some families from the Chibougamau and Waswanipi districts, are generally short and stocky, broad-headed and with rather Mongoloid features. On the other hand, the Nichicun Indians from the northern districts, as a group, are usually tall and of good physique." (P. 151.)

"Not more than three or four men in the whole band speak either French or English so all trading at the post is done in the James Bay Cree dialect . . . .

"Deaths resulting from starvation are not unknown in the winter in spite of the traders' efforts to mitigate food shortages." (P. 152.)

"About six hundred Montagnais-Nascopie Indians, who speak neither French nor English," come "from points as distant as Lake Nichicun," and "summer at Mistassini Post." (Godfrey, 1949:3.)

By 1949 it was said that the Nichicun Indians could no longer count upon caribou for food (Pomerleau, 1950:14).

Dr. Bertram H. Harper, of the Department of National Health and Welfare, has kindly transmitted (*in litt.*, October 5, 1961), on

the basis of personal observations, the following remarks on the Indians of the Great Whale River and Richmond Gulf areas. Among these Indians there is a distinctly different type of face from that of the Swampy Cree. Their faces are longer, their noses more of the Roman type instead of the flat type of the Cree, and their foreheads higher. In fact, they look more like Iroquois of southern Ontario and the Northeastern States. There is a possibility that these features may have come from mixture with Scandinavian whalers who did quite a business in these parts 40 to 80 years ago. These Indians travel far inland and could also have mingled with the Nascopies and Montagnais of Ungava and Labrador.

Honigmann (1952) discusses "the Great Whale River, Cree-speaking Indians," of whom 171 were attached to that trading post, along with 193 Eskimos:

"The Indians spend the cold months in the landlocked interior, pursuing a greater variety of fur bearers than are available on the coast. A large part of their food is secured from lake and river fishing. . . . The winter camps [contain] only one or two families . . . . In summer the Indians live in rectangular canvas tents or tipis. In winter some informants report building a beehive-shaped structure of lashed poles spread with canvas and banked high with snow." There is comment on "their lack of dogs for transportation." (Pp. 512–513.)

"With the disappearance of caribou from the region around [Great] Whale River, sealskin boots became standard apparel for Indians . . . . White whale hunting has been adopted by the Indians in summer and is accomplished with the aid of the socketed harpoon and sealskin float." (P. 513.)

"A few Indians . . . in autumn travel northeast of Richmond Gulf to kill the caribou that remain on the northerly tundra" (p. 515).

"A proposed beaver conservation program promises to increase the present earnings of the Indians" (p. 521).

Père Laviolette (1955:206–207) writes of the Cree as distinct from the Montagnais-Naskapi:

"This important Algonquian tribe . . . occupies lands on the East and West coasts of James Bay as well as on the South coast of Hudson Bay. . . .

"Mistassini: This large band of 669 lives on the South East shores of Lake Mistassini. They are ⅔ Cree and ⅓ Montagnais. Most of them are nomadic, while nearly 150 men are working in lumber camps. . . .

"*The James Bay Agency Cree*, numbering over 2,100 are successful

trappers and hunters, enjoying the use of the extensive beaver reserves of Nottaway River, Rupert's House, Old Factory and Fort George. A number of stragglers from Rupert's House now spend most of the year in the settled districts of Abitibi, hunting, trapping and seasonal work in lumber camps.

"The main bands are:

"Rupert's House, 535 and Nemaska (Nemiscau): 118;
"Eastmain: 175 and Old Factory: 319;
"Fort George and Kanoapscow: 784;
"Great Whale River and Richmond Gulf: 182."

A remarkable story of beaver conservation in the James Bay area and of its highly beneficial results to the Cree Indians has been effectively told by W. A. Anderson (1959). In the 1928–29 season only four beaver skins were brought in to Rupert House. The Indians were in dire need, and some were starving. Thereupon the local Hudson's Bay Company manager, James Watt, subsidized the beaver lodges, so to speak, by inducing the Indians not to molest the animals for a period of years. They received from him, in return, an approximate cash equivalent for the beavers they would have trapped and sold. As a result of this enlightened measure, the beavers in that area had increased by 1938 to 3,300, and by 1939 to 4,000. In 1940 the Rupert House preserve was opened to the Indian trappers under careful regulations. Each trapper was allowed an exact quota based upon the number of beaver lodges on his trapline. By 1959 the family cash incomes of the Indian hunters averaged between $1,000 and $1,800. The flesh of the beaver is almost as important to them as the pelt. "By any standards the Indians are now prosperous." And "today there are 187,100 square miles of beaver preserves in the Province of Quebec alone." The model Rupert House preserve, established largely through the efforts of Mrs. Maude Watt after her husband's death, is now supervised by her.

For a further account of beaver conservation in the James Bay area, see J. W. Anderson (1961:183–190).

The extension of the same sort of conservation policy to the other fur-bearers, and likewise to the caribou and other hard-pressed game animals, would go far toward ensuring the permanent preservation of these irreplaceable features of the wilderness areas of the continent.

Until recently so little direct information has come out of the Mistassini area concerning the life of the Indians on their winter trap-

ping-grounds, that I venture to insert the following fragmentary notes of my good friend J. Laurent Véronneau (*in litt.*, June 26, 1955, and May 14, 1956), who spent parts of two recent winters there.

About the headwaters of the Nemiscau River (lat. 52° N., long. 75° W.), in January and February, 1955, some Indians were hunting beaver. They reported 75 of the animals taken, apparently by five families. They evidently considered these results very poor. They were also eating moose and a lot of snowshoe rabbits and using the fur of the latter species to make garments for their young children. Two bear skulls had been set up in a tree, in accordance with the usual native ceremonialism (see Speck, 1935:102).

The following winter Mr. Véronneau met two Indians trapping for fur in the vicinity of Lac Quentin (lat. 52°32′ N., long. 73°20′ W.), where they had their main cache. They were part of a group of families that had come from Lake Mistassini in the fall. These, like the others at the headwaters of the Nemiscau, could speak neither French nor English. But they could eat quantities of pies and pastries!

The above notes suggest that the winter hunts in the areas northwest and north of Lake Mistassini are conducted by communal groups rather than by separate family units (see Speck and Eiseley, 1942:218–220).

After 13 months of field work somewhere in the Lake Mistassini area, Rogers and Rogers (1959) present a most interesting and illuminating account of the daily and seasonal round of activities among the Mistassini Indians, including travel, hunting, trapping, fishing, feasts, and camp routine, such as division of labor among men, women, and children. Dogs are used to some extent for traction. The authors spent nine months with a hunting group of 13 members. They do not indicate the tribal affiliations of these Mistassini Indians.

"The winter trapping camp [of a Mistassini family] would be on a tract of land which by tribal custom and inheritance would, for all practical purposes, be owned by the Indian. His rights would be respected by the other members of the tribe and no one would hunt or trap on his lands without his express permission. This was the ancient way of conservation of the Mistassini Cree. . . .

"The whole camp, sometimes as many as three families hunting together for the winter, would be kept busy on these varied tasks [preparations for the winter] and all would lend a hand—men, women and children." (J. W. Anderson, 1961:106–107.)

*The Naskapi*

In 1731 the Jesuit Laure met the Naskapi to the north of Ashuanipi Lake. In 1853 Father Arnaud found them on Manicouagan Lake and stated that their hunting grounds lay to the northwest. In the 1860's, according to Hind (1863), their territory extended from Lake Mistassini to the Atlantic, and in summer they made trips down various tributaries of the St. Lawrence to meet their priest at Seven Islands. In the 1880's they occupied the basins of the Nascaupi and Hamilton rivers and traded at Rigolet and Northwest River. In earlier years they had traded at Fort Chimo on the Koksoak River and at Fort Nascopie on Petitsikapau Lake. (Tanner, 1947, 2:581–582.)

John McLean, who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Chimo from 1837 to 1842 (meanwhile discovering Grand Falls on the Hamilton River), left a brief but valuable early record (1932:258–265) of his observations on the local Naskapi. His impressions of them were none too favorable, as may be gathered from some of the following passages:

"The Indians inhabiting the interior of Ungava [number] about one hundred men able to bear arms. . . . [P. 258.]

"Of all the Indians I have seen, the Nascopies seem most averse to locomotion; many of them grow up to man's estate without once visiting a trading post. . . .

"The Nascopie freely indulges all the grosser passions of his nature; he has no term in his language to express the sensation of shame . . . . [P. 259.]

"The Nascopies depend principally on the rein-deer for subsistence . . . .

"Partridges [Ptarmigan] are very numerous in certain localities, but cannot be trusted to as a means of living . . . . [P. 261.]

"In their intercourse with us the Nascopies [are] selfish and inhospitable in the extreme . . . . But . . . no people can exercise the laws of hospitality with greater generosity, or show less selfishness, towards each other than the Nascopies. . . .

"The Nascopies, surrounded by kindred tribes, are strangers to the calamities of war, and are consequently a peaceful, harmless people; yet they cherish the unprovoked enmity of their race towards the poor Esquimaux, whom they never fail to attack, when an opportunity offers of doing so with impunity." (P. 264.)

Nicol Finlayson, a contemporary of McLean's at Fort Chimo, wrote in 1833, as quoted by Elton (1942:243): "The Indians never

leave the coast [Fort Chimo area], where deer are most numerous, above four of five days journey, and that is when they go to look for birchrind for their canoes." (From other sources, it is evident that this search was made along the Kaniapiskau River.)

Some further information on the Naskapi of the Ungava Bay region is presented by Davies (1854:126, 129, 131); his source was the journal of an anonymous writer (probably John McLean). Their hunting grounds (he says) extend from near the coast of Ungava Bay to the upper waters of streams that fall into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and westward along the height of land nearly to Lake Mistassini. They generally keep together in large camps, in this respect differing from the Montagnais. The latter seldom or never hunt together in large numbers; two families generally associate for that purpose. The Naskapi frequenting the posts on Ungava Bay consist of 40 or 50 families.

Hind (1863) gives one of the earlier accounts of the Naskapi; it is of much interest in showing how widely the tribe ranged over the peninsula at that period:

In testimony before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1857, passages were quoted from a letter from William Kennedy to Lord Elgin:

"Starvation has, I learn, committed great havoc among your old friends the Nascopies, numbers of whom met their death from want last winter, whole camps of them were found dead, without one survivor to tell the tale of their sufferings; others used as food the dead bodies of their companions . . . . At Fort Nascopie the Indians were dying in dozens by starvation . . . . ..... says it was .....'s fault in not giving them enough of ammunition." (Hind, 1863, 1:15.)

Hind refers later to some Naskapi who had come from the far interior to see the priest at the mouth of the Manicouagan (1:196); to some having their lodges as far to the southwest as Lake Pletipi (1:198); to five or six families wintering on the north side of the Height of Land in the valley of the Ashuanipi (1:239); and to Naskapi from Petitsikapau Lake (1:335).

"The country of the Nasquapees extends from Lake Mistassini to the Atlantic coast of the Labrador Peninsula . . . . They occupy the table-land, and it is only lately that they have visited the coasts and shores of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence in considerable numbers. They make their way from the interior, chiefly by the Manicouagan, the Ste. Marguerite, the Trinity, and the Moisie rivers. In figure the Nasquapees are shorter and of lighter build than the Montagnais;

they have very delicately formed and clean-cut features, small hands and feet, a large and rather soft eye, inclined towards the nose; their hair is intensely black, coarse, and thick, their teeth regular and beautifully white. They speak a dialect of the Cree language, and can hold communication with the Montagnais without any difficulty. The men are tattooed in the cheek, generally from the cheek-bone to the nostril on either side. The marks which I saw consisted of slight cuts about a line long, parallel to each other, and about a line apart." (2:97.)

"The evil deity, ATSHEM, is the terror and the bugbear of the Nasquapees" (2:102).

"The Nasquapee arrow for killing the caribou is of peculiar construction. The head is made of iron or copper (formerly of bone), and consists of a piece of metal about six inches long, beat out, pointed and barbed at one end; the other is let into and fastened to the shaft with sinew. The head of the common arrow for killing ptarmigan, porcupine, and small birds, is very heavy, and resembles in every particular the Montagnais arrow." (2:106.)

The able ethnologist Turner, after residing at Fort Chimo from 1882 to 1884, makes some comments (1888:109–114) of interest on the Naskapi of that area. They then numbered about 350 souls.

"They are slightly above the average height, having narrow bodies, small limbs and delicate extremities; their face is rather flat, with the exception of the cheek bones, which are somewhat prominent, though not so much as in Indians of the plains. . . . Their hair is black, coarse and abundant, occasionally disposed to waviness, though this is more especially noticeable in the women than in the men; and is, doubtless, due to their peculiar manner of wearing the hair on a piece of curved wood about which it is rolled. . . . [Pp. 109–110.]

"The men hunt the reindeer, fur-bearing animals, and the various birds, principally ptarmigan, for food. The reindeer forms the principal source of the food supply, and affords skins suitable for conversion into garments well adapted to the climate." (P. 110.)

"In their social intercourse, the allotment of tasks falls most heavily upon the females. They are the drudges of the men. They fetch water, and fuel, prepare the tent, bring the slain deer to camp, assist in hauling the sleds and paddling the canoes, together with the additional labors of sewing and the care of the children.

"Their dwelling is the conventional type of wigwam, in this instance covered with the inferior qualities of the skins of the reindeer." (P. 111.)

"Their summer journeying is accomplished by means of the birch-bark canoe; in winter the flat-sled (*tabaskhan*) is used for bearing the household and other valuable effects. The large, oval snow-shoe is made here to perfection." (P. 114.)

"I cannot assert that the Nascopie has any bad trait of character, or any vices worthy of comment. He is honest, faithful and ever ready to aid a friend." (P. 114.)

In a later paper (1894) Turner writes:

"They differ slightly in customs from their neighbors, but their speech is somewhat different, being very rapidly uttered and with most singular inflections of the voice. A conversation may be begun in the usual tone, and in a moment changed to that of a whining or petulant child. . . . That their voice is penetrating may be inferred from the fact that during quiet days it is not unusual for parties to converse from opposite sides of the Koksoak river, at Fort Chimo, where the river is nearly a mile and a half wide." (P. 183.)

Turner's remark on the carrying power of the Naskapi voice recalls to mind a chilly morning (temperature about 25°), April 13, 1920, on the snowy shore of frozen Lac La Biche, Alberta, when a dog's bark or a man's voice at a quarter- or half-a-mile's distance rang sharp and clear across the wonderful stillness. For examples of the extraordinary carrying power of both human and avian voices on the Sussex Downs in England, see Hudson (1951:139, 146–147, 150, 152).

"Although their food consists of reindeer [caribou], ptarmigan, fish, and other game, the deer is their main reliance, and when without it, however great their abundance of other food, they consider themselves starving" (Turner, 1894:276).

"The bow and arrow is . . . still used to kill ptarmigan, hares, and rabbits." The bow is made of larch or spruce wood. The arrows are feathered with ptarmigan feathers. "The head is usually an egg-shaped knob, terminating in a slender point which soon breaks off." (P. 312, figs. 132–136.)

There appears to be a close similarity between the Naskapi bow and arrows for small game and those of the Eastern Cree (pl. 3, fig. 2) and the Montagnais type, as made by Sebastien McKenzie (see p. 69). (See also p. 30, for Hind's description of the Naskapi arrow for killing caribou.)

"The eastern Nascaupees are usually not above five feet six inches tall, slightly built and not at all muscular, being incapable of carrying half the loads of the Montagnais. They are also the dirtiest and most degraded Indians of Labrador. The coastal Indians have appar-

ently a large admixture of white blood, as many of them have blue eyes and the men as a rule have strong beards. They bear in figure and face a certain resemblance to their northern neighbours the Eskimo, being heavily built and unlike the typical Indian. The admixture of white blood would account for this difference of physique, and it may also have been induced by their living along the sea coast." (Low, 1896:45–46.)

At Natuakami Lake on the Larch River, in 1896, Low (1898:15) found a number of Naskapi engaged in killing caribou; he also (1898: 18) reported them as hunting on one of the main tributaries, the Kenogamistuk or Rivière du Gué. The total number living about the tributaries of the Koksoak River and trading at Fort Chimo, he said (1898:22), was about 150. "They belong to the Nascaupee tribe, and speak a dialect of the Cree or Algonkin language. They are a poor, degraded people, without thrift or forethought, and as a rule, very lazy. Being caribou hunters they can hardly be induced to trap fur-bearing animals. They depend wholly on the herds of barren-ground caribou for their food and clothing, and sell a certain number of caribou skins not required for their own use, with a few furs, to the Hudson's Bay Company for powder, shot, tea, sugar and tobacco, which comprise all their necessaries of life. Foxes, both white and the varieties of the red species, form their principal fur hunt, but otters are also taken, and in early spring they made excursions southward into the wooded country for martens."

Wallace (1907:207–210) writes:

In winter the Naskapi at Fort Chimo use garments (including leggings and moccasins) that are made of caribou skin. They are not so clean or prosperous as the Montagnais. They are "perhaps the most primitive Indians on the North American continent to-day." Caribou, Ptarmigan, and fish are their chief food. Half of them perished in the winter of 1892–93 through failure of the caribou hunt. "The divide north of Lake Michikamau is the southern and the George River [area] the eastern boundary of the Naskapi territory."

Mrs. Hubbard (1908) was one of the few white persons (and certainly the first white woman) to visit the camp of the Barren Ground band on the east side of Indian House Lake; and she left as adequate a record as might be expected from a stay of no more than an hour or so on August 20, 1905. A few excerpts follow:

"They had markedly Indian faces and those of the older men showed plainly the battle for life they had been fighting. They were

tall, lithe, and active looking, with a certain air of self-possession and dignity which almost all Indians seem to have. They wore dressed deer-skin breeches and moccasins and over the breeches were drawn bright red cloth leggings reaching from the ankle to well above the knee, and held in place by straps fastened about the waist. The shirts, some of which were of cloth and some of dressed deer-skin, were worn outside the breeches and over these a white coat bound about the edges with blue or red. Their hair was long and cut straight below the ears, while tied about the head was a bright coloured kerchief. The faces were full of interest." (P. 170.)

"We learned that only three days before they [some of the men] had returned from Davis Inlet where they go to trade for supplies as do the Montagnais. They had come back from their long journey sick at heart . . . . The ship had not come, and the post store was empty." (P. 172.)

"The camp consisted of two large wigwams, the covers of which were of dressed deer-skins sewed together and drawn tight over the poles, while across the doorway hung an old piece of sacking. The covers were now worn and old and dirty-grey in colour save around the opening at the top, where they were blackened by the smoke from the fire in the centre of the wigwam." (P. 176.)

"Their [the younger women's and the children's] dresses were of cotton and woollen goods. Few wore skin clothes, and those who did had on a rather long skin shirt with hood attached, but under the shirt were numerous cloth garments. Only the old men and little children were dressed altogether in skins. . . . The faces here were not bright and happy looking as at the Montagnais camp [near the head of George River]. Nearly all were sad and wistful. The old women seemed the brightest of all and were apparently important people in the camp." (Pp. 176–177.)

Doubtless the most intimate, sympathetic, and fascinating picture of Naskapi life in the George River area in the days of caribou abundance is presented in Cabot's classic work (1912). He writes of them not merely as a tribe or a band, but as *individuals*. The volume must be read to be appreciated; a few fragmentary quotations must suffice as specimens of the whole work:

"The first impression that the Naskapi make on one is apt to be vivid and a little mixed. Their irresponsible thin legs and bare thighs, and their horsetail hair, are decidedly not of our world, though the latter is generally docked at the shoulders. They have a

nasal twang, which in the excitement of arrival, and at such times they are not impassive, becomes almost a whine. . . . As untamed aborigines, Stone Age people, they lay hold of one. The look in their eyes is the look of the primitive man of the open." (P. 86.)

"They were people in the primitive hunter stage. Nowhere else, perhaps, was the like of these Indians to be found, a little group of a race high in personality, yet living substantially in the pre-Columbian age of the continent. If they had guns and kettles and knives, if they sold fur and bought new conveniences, these changed little the essential life. They knew no language but their own; they had plural wives; they lived wholly on meat and fish; they used no salt. The clothing and lodges were mainly of skins. They lived under their own law, in their old faith unchanged." (Pp. 189–190.)

"Smiles prevailed everywhere as I went about; we were guests of the camp. . . . The older women did various operations on the skins with their different tools, made pemmican, went through many acts of their routine. They lifted the covering skins from whatever I cast my eyes upon, showed me what was there and what everything was for. Most of their dried meat and other things were piled close alongside the lodges, covered with skins." (P. 237.)

"The house-wives were pleasantly grave and simple. These older women looked hard worked and thin, under all their unusual toil upon meat and skins, besides their household duties. The men appeared well fed and easy. The man's work of providing game was mere sport as things were." (P. 238.)

"They had speared no less than twelve or fifteen hundred deer [caribou] in a few weeks" (p. 239).

"After supper the neighbors came in, mostly women whose men had gone to the shore. My old acquaintances of 1906, every one, brought presents of meat and skins and moccasins, nor had they lost their pleasing manners I remembered. . . .

"What went on in the course of the evening brought to us as real a phase of the primitive life as I had seen. While we were eating the people roasted whitefish over the fire, the children in particular chewed the dried meat. There was no vegetable food; whitefish and dried deer meat were all. . . .

"We were given skins and blankets for the night. . . . Some one kept a little fire, putting on wood when necessary, and we were wholly comfortable. Breakfast was of dried meat boiled." (P. 273.)

"Now, in November, the snow is over the country, there is meat

for the winter, and the lodge life at its best is going on in the sheltered bays. In such times of plenty the Indian life is peculiarly attractive, perhaps more so than the life of any other hunter race that survives on earth. The people are lords over their fine country, asking little favor, ever, save that the deer may come in their time. It was one of the notable privileges of my wilderness days to have the best of their country to myself for some years, unexplored as it was, and even more to me was the relation with the people themselves." (Pp. 285–286.)

In another work Cabot remarks (1922:210):

"All in all, the life of these people [the Naskapi] remains singularly unchanged. It may be doubted whether another such survival of the purely primitive hunter, at the same time of so high a personality as that of the savage of temperate America, is to be found in any part of the world. The caribou are to them what the buffalo were to the Indians of the plains."

Waugh (1925) provides a useful supplement to Cabot's account:

"The total numbers of the Naskopi, past as well as present, are somewhat difficult to ascertain. In 1921 there were only 16 adult hunters in the George River band, or some 75 or 80 in all. The number at Fort Chimo and vicinity was said to be between 200 and 300. R. White, a fur-trader residing at Nain, states that fully 250 Indians came out at Voisey's Bay in 1914. During the winter of 1918–1919 an epidemic of influenza, smallpox and measles reduced these to the remnant seen in 1921. . . . [P. 128.]

"A change in the attitude of the eastern Naskopi to their neighbors . . . has evidently been taking place. They now trade at Voisey's Bay, and first came out for this purpose during the winter of 1912. On this occasion they camped several miles from the two small posts . . . and prepared to spend the remainder of the winter within reach of supplies and certain of the comforts of civilization. Next winter they camped still closer, and have been coming out regularly ever since. . . . [P. 129.]

"Moccasins are still worn, but the Eskimo skin boot, reaching to the knee and capable of excluding the wet, is much in favor. . . . [p. 130].

"Hunting territories among the Naskopi are apparently not as exactly divided off as among other Algonkians, probably because they are so few in numbers and because the country over which they wander is so vast in extent. Due respect, however, is shown by each family or group to the area selected by another.

"A considerable amount of their hunting, especially for caribou, is conducted in common. . . .

"The Naskopi has [*sic*] evidently profited by their contact with the Eskimo and often engage in the hunt for harbour seals. Another Eskimo touch is 'jigging' through the ice for tom-cod in the spring. [P. 131.]

"The principal dependence of the Naskopi in the matter of food is the caribou. This animal migrates . . . in herds which are . . . waylaid, a favorite method being to spear it in the water as it crosses some river or lake. The carcasses are hauled up on the shore, the skin and entrails removed, and the meat left to dry in the sun and wind. [Pp. 131–132.]

"Every now and then the caribou migrate in some round-about direction and the Indians have a serious time in consequence. 1921–22 was a season of this kind, but the Indians, fortunately, caught plenty of fur and were able to buy supplies. . . . [P. 132.]

"The ordinary dwelling of the Naskopi is the wigwam. This . . . consists of a stack of poles covered with caribou skin or canvas. A small opening is left at the top as a smoke-hole. The floor is covered with spruce twigs, while in the centre, some stones are arranged to form a fire-place. An innovation very much in favor at present is a sheet-iron stove with pipes. . . . The door is merely a flap of skin or canvas. . . . [Pp. 132–133.]

"The Naskopi are noted for the long journeys they undertake on foot, as well as for the speed at which they travel. . . .

"The toboggan was formerly the favorite winter conveyance, but the George River Naskopi at present use a sledge with thin, broad runners . . . .

"Snowshoes are of the round type used by the Montagnais. . . .

"Corpses are now buried very much after the fashion of the whites, though they are often placed in trees when a death occurs inland during the winter. Later on they are buried." (P. 133.)

In the following remarks by Wissler (1940:96–97), we seem to miss the sympathetic understanding of a Turner, a Cabot, a Speck, an Elton, or a Tanner:

"Far up in Labrador live the Naskapi. No white man seems to want to live in their country, so they cannot claim to be martyrs to white expansion. They have taken from the white man many of the conveniences of civilization . . . ; but for the most part, they have been free to work out their own social problems. . . . If the reader

asks what these Naskapi achieved with all their freedom, we fear the answer is, not much.

". . . Their life is hard; many of them die young, but the tribe has survived by solving the problem of existing in a harsh environment. Possibly they are as happy as most of us."

These remarks might be answered by saying that the Naskapi, in their primitive state, had developed a higher degree of social equality, individual liberty, and fitness to their environment, than the inhabitants of many civilized countries. The mere fact that they had survived and maintained their numbers for centuries before coming into contact with civilization is a sufficient tribute to their resourcefulness and adaptability. Their deterioration has resulted from contact with avaricious traders, who profited unduly from their labors, spread the diseases of civilization among them, diluted their racial purity, and contributed to the depletion of their vital food resource—Cabot's Caribou—by placing in their hands the deadly modern weapons of wholesale destruction. Without the interference of the white man, they might have continued indefinitely in their comparatively happy state; furthermore, they would not have been forced to discard their primitive caribou culture by becoming mine laborers.

"The conditions of life here and the fate in hardship of these natives [Montagnais-Naskapi] of the cold-forest and steppes zones of Canada have evoked much commiseration among writers on the North, which they fully deserve; but it is chiefly because of their singular adaptation and fitness to the places where they are found that they claim our attention and evoke interest in the principles underlying the processes rather than pity for their lot." (Speck, 1935:16, fn.)

"The [Naskapi] bands have always been few and poor and dogged by bitter catastrophies of starvation. . . .

"These Indians achieved a sort of balance which the acquisition of firearms must have changed in large degree but still left possible." (Elton, 1942:250.)

"In eastern Ungava lived the Barren Ground people. Their territory was the George's River Valley up to the head of Indian House Lake —a broad expanse of the river, famous as a caribou hunting place. They wandered as well in the barrens west of Whale River, marching with the Ungava Indian lands. The Barren Ground band traded, if at all, with Davis Inlet. Since the deer failed in 1916 and influenza swept through them in 1919, only a few are left and these have now

come out to Nain to trade." (Elton, 1942:251.)

"The Indians [Naskapi, mainly] of Labrador are usually described as a degenerate and rather poor branch of the race, inferior in many respects to the Eskimos. This opinion has come from the traders, who seem to have expected an independent nomad people to alter at once its way of life in order to help the trade; from ethnologists, hoping to discover new and complicated customs and beliefs; from explorers, wanting wild hunters to turn to canoeing and packing for wages; and from missionaries, whose attempts to introduce monogamy and a strange theology have usually failed to penetrate far below the surface of the Indian mind." (Elton, 1942:351–352.)

Sebastien McKenzie, who was manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort McKenzie from 1916 to 1936, informed me that about 20 to 40 people (presumably hunters or heads of families) would trade there in the course of a year. Some of the Naskapi came from as far away as Indian House Lake, while others were local about Fort McKenzie. Still other Indians were Cree from Great Whale River, whence there were canoe routes to his post. He spoke of doing as much as $35,000 worth of business in a year. The principal furs were mink, marten, and otter. His trade goods came by boat from Fort Chimo—a three- to five-days journey.

I gathered from Sebastien that the relations between the Naskapi and the Montagnais were amicable. He himself had been to Indian House Lake, to hunt. Some of the Indians there, up to 45 or 50 years old, had never seen the sea.

Tanner's comprehensive and excellent account (1947, 2:654–700) of the Naskapi is based in part on the prior records of McLean, Turner, Cabot, and others, and in part on his own observations, chiefly at Davis Inlet and Northwest River. By his time there had been some mixture, not only with Montagnais but even with Eskimos. Tanner's account should be read in its entirety. Some quotations from it follow:

"From the first moment it was clear that I was meeting with a fragment of mankind who had to a great extent been preserved from the influence of Europeanizing culture" (p. 659).

"Measured by economic and social standards the Naskaupi must be considered among the most primitive peoples of the earth. But this opinion must not be regarded as a disparaging one in their own environment, for in the godforsaken regions where they live an unusually high degree of buoyancy and inventiveness is demanded

even to keep alive, and these qualities they certainly possess. The isolation from contact with the white people and the conditions of nature under which they live, have evidently been contributory causes of the retention of their primitiveness, which as we shall see (p. 697), once resulted from a process of deculturation." (P. 661.)

"I have found no proof that [the Barren Ground band] extended their hunting to any notable extent west of Indian House Lake" (p. 669).

"The Naskaupee of olden days have gone, like the caribou they hunted, and the hunters wander about to-day in the woods near the Atlantic coast. Rotting tent poles on the George River and Barren Ground Lake [Indian House Lake] tell a sad tale of life in these now deserted parts and speak as if from the grave of a race that has passed away. The descendants of the Barren Ground Naskaupee are no longer a tundra people; in the forests they are in their element to-day; the tundra is the despised land, without wood, without fuel, one can freeze to death there. Yet the call of the life of freedom seems still strong; they prefer to live in the forest wilds and seem to have little or no intercourse with the whites or the Eskimoes and they even seem to be outside the limits of the Catholic Mission." (P. 680.)

In 1947 Rousseau (1949) passed down the entire length of the George River, meeting with only a few caribou and not a single Naskapi. The river is said to have been entirely deserted by the natives in 1944. Rousseau's voyage was apparently the first one of that sort on the George since 1905.

Seventy Naskapi "were transported to Nutak by schooner from Davis Inlet in 1948 and early in March [1950] left Nutak to go south again." On two inland trips from Nutak they killed 27 and 2 caribou. "This . . . band . . . have ceased to be barren ground hunters." (Frazer, 1950.)

"Chimo serves as a trading post . . . for the small Indian population which formerly traded at Fort McKenzie before that post was closed in 1948. . . .

"Caribou are becoming increasingly scarce, by all accounts, and according to report suffered a major, and unexplained, setback about 1918, when the migrating herd which usually crossed the Koksoak River each year, failed to appear. It has not appeared since." (Dunbar, 1952:7–8.)

Père Laviolette (1955:204) writes of the population of the Koksoak Basin:

"Fort Chimo: This group of 191 Naskapi lives in the Winter months at Fort Mackenzie . . . . During the summer they camp at Fort Chimo. They are all nomadic, living of [= by] fishing, trapping and hunting."

"In 1953 the Federal Government moved the Indians [Naskapi at Fort Chimo] back to their former habitation in the neighbourhood of Fort McKenzie on the Kaniapiskau River" (Michie and Neil, 1955:33).

"Increasing contact with the [white] newcomers in both Ungava and Keewatin . . .threatens these people [Naskapi and Eskimo] with the complete loss of their culture if not with virtual extermination" (Michie and Neil, 1955:38).

Humphrys (1958) describes a recent drastic change in the way of life of these Naskapi:

"In the summer of 1956 the entire Fort Chimo band of the Naskaupi trekked 200 miles south to settle at the base of a ridge [near Knob Lake] on which the Montagnais were already living. When they first arrived, these people lived in tents, but later they built huts to withstand the rigors of winter. In marked contrast with the modern town and its facilities, the Indian settlement has no piped water supply, no electricity, no proper sanitation. In addition, the Naskaupi have found their section to be ill-drained and therefore infested with mosquitoes in summer." (P. 163.)

"The Canadian Indian Affairs Branch, in cooperation with the Iron Ore Company, plans to build 25 houses, with provision for proper hygiene, electric power, and adequate water supply, on a site near that at present occupied by the Indians" (p. 164).

### *The Montagnais-Naskapi (mixed bands)*

*Davis Inlet Band.*—The intermixture of Naskapi and Montagnais at this post seems to have come about through abandonment by the Naskapi of their former territory between Davis Inlet and Hopedale on the coast and Michikamau Lake in the interior. Their movement was occasioned by great forest fires (about the end of the last century) and the resulting scarcity of caribou. After the caribou lichen had slowly regenerated and the animals had returned, the Montagnais moved in from Northwest River and gradually took possession of the district. Presently they established relations with the Davis Inlet post, where both tribes now intermingle. (Tanner, 1947, 2:583, 608.)

Before the amalgamation took place, Mrs. Hubbard (1908:156–161) came in 1905 to a camp of Montagnais women and children at

Resolution Lake, near the head of George River. The men were absent on a visit to Davis Inlet, where they had been trading for some years. The wigwams "were covered with dressed deer-skins. . . . Some six or eight splendid Eskimo dogs prowled about." The nearest Naskapi camp was two days' journey to the north. "The two camps are friendly and sometimes visit each other."

These notes of Mrs. Hubbard's are of interest in pertaining to perhaps the northeasternmost band of Montagnais. Doubtless the men of each camp went to Davis Inlet by a different route (Notakwanon and Assiwaban rivers). The era when any Montagnais had a sufficient number of caribou skins for use as tents was probably drawing to a close. Perhaps the Husky dogs had been acquired on the Labrador coast and had supplanted the sled dogs of the Montagnais. It was feasible to maintain these big dogs only where caribou were moderately plentiful.

In the winter of 1927–28 the late William Duncan Strong traveled with members of the mixed Davis Inlet band in the country inland from that post. According to a preliminary announcement (*Am. Anthropologist* 30[1]:173, 1928),

"Dr. Strong . . . will go, with a native interpreter and a team of dogs, into the interior to mingle with and study the primitive Naskapi Indians. These tribes, of which little is known at present, are one of the most primitive of extant peoples. They are reported to be surly and untrustworthy and disinclined to welcome white intruders."

In a subsequent account of the relations of these Indians with the vertebrate fauna, Strong writes (1930*a*:1–2):

"Like all northern regions, Labrador is subject to periodic fluctuations in the abundance of animal life, and the winter of 1927–1928 marked a very low ebb in the numbers of all species, resident as well as migratory. The country was lifeless beyond description, and it was not at all unusual to travel fifty or sixty miles a day in the utterly uninhabited interior and not see a single bird or animal track, let alone any living creature. In spite of constant hunting, only two snowshoe rabbits and no arctic hares were killed by the Indians. Willow ptarmigan, rock ptarmigan, and spruce grouse were likewise very scarce, and the fur-bearers, as would be expected, were very rare. This lifelessness extended to the birds of prey, small birds of all sorts, squirrels and mice. Needless to say, the Indians were terribly pressed for food, and if several small herds of caribou had not been encountered, in addition to the trout secured in nets under the ice, many of these people would have starved to death. These periods

of want are of frequent occurrence in Labrador, and the mortality from starvation among the Indians who live in the peninsula is still quite high. Formerly, when there were no trading stations and the hostile Eskimo prevented access to the coast, their sufferings at such times were even more extreme."

The names employed by this mixed band for the various species of mammals differ in at least some slight degree from those in use by the Seven Islands band.

The Davis Inlet Naskapi often camp at a large unnamed lake about 40 miles west of Jack Lane's Bay to watch for caribou (Strong, 1930*b*: 128).

"There are no Eskimo here [Davis Inlet], but about eighty Indians of the Nascaupee tribe, a branch of the Cree nation, were camped along the mainland shore, making their summer visit to trade and meet their priest. They are indescribably filthy and clad in rags of deerskin and store clothing; their canoes are of the usual Canadian pattern . . . ; their dwellings are both of the ridge-tent and the 'tepee' type, covered with old canvas and skins; they are entirely nomad and wander up and down the country from Ungava to the St. Lawrence, travelling the lakes and rivers by canoe and living by hunting; they are said to be inferior trappers." (Wyatt, 1934:50.)

Tanner (1947, 2:474, 583–585, figs. 222, 253) extends the boundary between the Naskapi and the Montagnais westward from Davis Inlet to Resolution Lake and across the lower course of the Rivière de Pas; thence it continues, north of Petitsikapau and Kaniapiskau lakes, till it meets the domain of the Eastern Cree. This old boundary lies for the most part between latitudes 55° and 56°. It has been rendered somewhat obsolete by the mixture of the two tribes in the Davis Inlet area, and recently by another mixture in the mining area about Knob Lake (see Ross, 1957).

Tanner (1947, 2:654–657) provides an illuminating discussion of the Davis Inlet band, including his personal impressions of the people. In treating of the Naskapi in general, he makes (p. 691) some further remarks that seem to be applied more or less particularly to this mixed band at Davis Inlet:

"I have no knowledge that a single Indian of Newfoundland-Labrador has been given an opportunity to learn to read, write and count. In social and religious aspects the Indians have been but little raised above their state of development at the time when the Catholic Mission first discovered them. Animism is still said to control their view of life. But when their world is so poor as the deserted woods and

barren grounds of Labrador it is only natural that they should seek to reinsure themselves where they may find sympathy and protection, so they do not despise what the priest may be able to give them and their families by reading the Latin mass and giving them alms at the trading-post of Davis Inlet. Though really their mental life still belongs to the Stone age." (This condition is in very marked contrast to that of the Montagnais of the Moisie band, where practically the entire community seems to be literate.)

"Recent reports [of the Davis Inlet band] are of a band about four times the [former] size, which has become more and more dependent on trade goods and which regularly spends the summer months at Davis Inlet and Nain. With the depletion of fur in the area, the Indians have become increasingly dependent on relief." (Miss Leacock, 1954:22.)

Père Laviolette (1955:204) writes of the two mixed bands of the Labrador coast:

"There are two Indian settlements on the Labrador coast, the one located at North West River, with a population of 135; the other is at Davis Inlet, with a population of 117.

"These Indians live of [ = by] trapping, hunting and fishing. They do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act and they are considered full-fledged citizens of Canada."

*Northwest River Band.*—Cartwright (1792) distinguished none too clearly between Montagnais ("Mountaineers"), Naskapi ("Nescaupick"), and Eskimos along the coast between Lake Melville and the Strait of Belle Isle. In 1778 he wrote (1792, 2:352) of seven families of "Mountaineers" having been in winter at "Ivuktoke Bay" (apparently Lake Melville).

"The Nascaupees inhabit the interior country north of a line . . . from the bottom of James Bay eastward to Hamilton Inlet" (Low, 1896:44). They then traded at Rigolet and Northwest River, and their hunting grounds extended to the north and the northwest as far as the Koksoak and Larch Rivers.

"Formerly some of the southern Indians came up Northwest River [Naskaupi River] and hunted on its upper waters and those of rivers flowing eastward into the Atlantic. Their country, poor at best, suffered by fire; fish were small, the caribou more and more uncertain. Finding that the deer summered in the unoccupied lake country south of the Nascaupees and west of Hopedale, they adopted that region and gave up the difficult Northwest River route. Having changed their trading-point to Seven Islands, the easier route by the

upper Hamilton and Lake Michikamau was very direct. The number of these families varies from half a dozen to as many as fifteen or more. Their summer route finally reaches the east coast by the *Notaquanón* . . . River." (Cabot, 1922:199.) (It is difficult to decide whether these notes of Cabot's apply to the Davis Inlet band or to the Northwest River band; perhaps they refer, in part, to both.)

"The blood of these [Montagnais] Indians [at Northwest River] is still practically pure" (Leslie, 1931:190).

Speck (1931:558) refers to this as an "unstudied band." "Part of the tribe, coming out to the Northwest river post, . . . hunt between Hamilton inlet and the gulf of St. Lawrence."

"South again [from Davis Inlet] were the North West River band, whose lands were north of Hamilton Inlet, and who hunted west almost to the height of land, by the huge Lake Michikamau. These traded at North West River post. West of these and high up among what Turner called 'the festoonery of lakes looped through the highlands' lived the small Lake Michikamau band: between that lake and Lake Petitsikapau. These used to trade at North West River but now go out to Seven Islands on the Gulf of St. Lawrence." (Elton, 1942:251.)

"The Montagnais were living at Hamilton Inlet until 1779." During the next century they "gradually spread out over all parts of the extensive Lake Melville drainage system. . . . Parallel with the displacement of the Naskaupee people in contrary directions individuals and families belonging to both tribes have ceaselessly been intermingled." The essential reason why Speck combined them into one group was the similarity of their non-material culture. The Montagnais in our day are continually crossing the boundary zone between themselves and the Naskapi. (Tanner, 1947, 2:582, 583, 586, 591.)

The Northwest River group comprises 35 to 40 Montagnais families. For hunting and trapping they spread out to the Mealy Mountains, the lower Hamilton River, the Goose, Beaver, and Susan rivers, Michikamau Lake, and from Lake Snegamook toward Hopedale. Recruits to this group include some Naskapi from Ungava and some Montagnais from the Gulf coast. (Tanner, 1947, 2:606–608.)

By 1951 the Indians of this band did not "seem to regard themselves as much of a unit." Some families "have apparently left the band and become attached to the Seven Islands post." (Miss Leacock, 1954:23.)

It will be seen from the above account that the history of the Northwest River band is somewhat vague and incompletely documented.

We have only a meager knowledge of its origin, composition, wanderings, and shifting territory.

*The Montagnais*

"The Mountaineers [Montagnais] are esteemed an industrious tribe; and, for many years, had been known to the French traders [along the North Shore of the Gulf?]. Their chief employment is to catch fur, and procure the necessaries of life. They are extremely illiterate, but generally good-natured; and are reckoned to be less ferocious than any other of the Indians. This softness of their manners is owing to their long intercourse with Europeans; and the other natives will doubtless lose their savage disposition, in proportion as they imbibe our customs." (R. Curtis, 1774:380.)

Among the earlier accounts is that of J. J. Audubon (in M. R. Audubon, 1897, 1:376), who met the Montagnais at Natashquan in 1833:

"The men were stout and good-looking, spoke tolerable French, the skin redder than any Indians I have ever seen, and more *clear*; the women appeared cleaner than usual, their hair braided and hanging down, jet black, but short. All were dressed in European costume except the feet, on which coarse moccasins of sealskin took the place of shoes."

When Audubon had passed a little eastward of Little Mecatina on the way to Bradore Bay, he had a conversation with some seafaring men (pp. 406–407):

"We talked of . . . the aborigines themselves melting away before the encroachments of the white man, who looks without pity upon the decrease of the devoted Indian, from whom he rifles home, food, clothing, and life. For as the Deer, the Caribou, and all other game is killed for the dollar which its skin brings in, the Indian must search in vain over the devastated country for that on which he is accustomed to feed, till, worn out by sorrow, despair, and want, he either goes far from his early haunts to others, which in time will be similarly invaded, or he lies on the rocky seashore and dies. We are often told rum kills the Indian; I think not; it is oftener the want of food, the loss of hope as he loses sight of all that was once abundant, before the white man intruded on his land and killed off the wild quadrupeds and birds with which he has fed and clothed himself since his creation. Nature herself seems perishing. Labrador must shortly be depeopled, not only of aboriginal man, but of all else having life, owing to man's cupidity. When no more fish, no more game, no more birds exist on her hills, along her coasts, and in her rivers, then she will be abandoned and deserted like a worn-out field."

Robertson (1843:37) writes of the "Mountaineers" at the six King's Posts (Tadousac to Moisie):

"They are a very timid and inoffensive people, not but that they show occasionally some outbursts of ferocity, particularly when intoxicated—their long subjection has debased them and given them all the vices of slaves, liars, cheats, and drunkards. About 200 years ago they were, at least as warlike and enterprising as any tribe on this continent."

Encamped at Seven Islands, in 1861, "were about 150 [Montagnais] Indians; among them were a dozen Nasquapees" (Hind, 1863, 1:320).

Here, at the chapel mass,

"The Indian women wore the picturesque Montagnais cap of scarlet, and black or green cloth in alternate stripes, with, in some instances, a gold lace tassel attached to the drooping extremity. Most of them were enveloped in gaudy coloured shawls; their petticoats were of blue cloth or calico, with bright patterns, their mistassins or leggings of blue cloth, and their moccasins of seal skin, neatly ornamented with silk or porcupine quills, worked into a pattern of flowers. The men had all discarded their Indian dress of caribou skin, and wore cloth coats and trousers; the only article of Indian manufacture which formed part of their clothing was the seal-skin moccasin.

". . . I was very much struck with the general aspect of the Montagnais women: their eyes are inclined, their noses aquiline, and their jaws square; the last feature is also the distinguishing character of the men, but is still more developed in the Nasquapee than in the Montagnais race." (Hind, 1863, 1:335.)

When Paul le Jeune, a Jesuit missionary, first saw some of the Montagnais on the lower St. Lawrence in 1632, "their faces were painted with red, blue, and black stripes, according to each man's fancy and taste; their clothing was made of the beaver, bear, or fox skins; they wore no covering on the head, and their long black and greasy hair hung low over their shoulders; they were armed with bow and arrows, a shield, and a lance." (Hind, 1863, 2:10–11.)

The following passage, dealing with the Indians at Mingan in 1867, is worth quoting from a little-known work by Couper (1868:9):

"The Labrador Indians are a peaceable people, having great regard for religion and morality. Several of both sexes can read their own language, and when at the mission, they regularly go to church twice a day on Sunday. They have evidently abandoned the savage modes

of life attributed to their predecessors. Yet, a stranger can discern a love of fellowship existing among them, which is probably caused by the ties of relationship. Like all other tribes of North American Indians, they are happy when together in camp. Each family hunt and work for themselves—jealousy does not exist—no quarrels arise among the weaker sex—indeed, the utmost harmony and good will prevails even when the wigwams stand close together, and their occupants number over five hundred souls. I have seen more real affection exhibited at the parting of two families of these semi-civilized people than could be evinced from the breasts of nations long advanced in civilization.

"Being poor fishermen, they do not care to capture fish by any other mode but with the spear—an instrument which they handle with great dexterity. . . .

"The men generally resemble the European in stature; evidently strong, but having little confidence in their strength, they succumb to the power of the settler, and will run away sooner than receive a blow. . . . They are fond of music, singing and dancing . . . . Old and young wear a conical cap on their heads; it is made of alternate pieces of red and blue cloth. The latter colors are those adopted by the tribe, and the men sometimes wear leggings and gauntlets of these combined colors."

John Bignell (1873:53) writes concerning the inhabitants about the Manicouagan, Pentecôte, Trinity, and Godbout rivers:

"The interior of this part of the country is hunted over by a portion of the Montagnais tribe of Indians who are a quiet[,] docile, inoffensive, and hospitable people . . . .

"Amongst these people hospitality is practiced to the fullest extent, quarreling is never heard, and theft is unknown, and almost every man amongst them can read and write, and our own boasted civilized communities would in a great many respects, compare very unfavorably with them."

Corroboration of Couper's and Bignell's laudatory words may be found in Tanner (1947, 2:599):

"They [the Montagnais] are a very peaceful people. As one learns to know them better one soon finds something attractive in their calmness. I myself can fully confirm the opinion of one of my white trapper friends: that they really radiate friendliness and goodwill when they see a person for a second time."

Turner (1894:181) writes of Montagnais distribution and traits in the 1880's:

"The Mountaineers . . . roam over the areas south of the Hamilton inlet and as far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence. . . . They trade at all the stations along the accessible coast. Many of them barter at Rigolet and Northwest river.

"In customs they differ little from the Indians [Naskapi] to the north of them. Their means of subsistence are the flesh of reindeer, porcupines, and various birds, such as geese, ducks, ptarmigan, and grouse.

" . . .The scarcity of the reindeer renders the food supply quite precarious . . . .

"Their clothing is of the tanned skin of the [woodland] deer when they are able to procure it. As nearly all the skins of the reindeer are used for garments, few are prepared for other purposes; hence the northern stations (Fort Chimo) furnish great numbers of these [Barren Ground caribou] skins in the parchment condition to be purchased by the Mountaineers, who cut them into fine lines for snowshoe netting and other purposes.

"They procure the furs of marten, mink, fur beaver, muskrats, lynxes, wolverines, wolves, and foxes. A considerable number of black bears are also obtained by these Indians. By the barter of these furs they procure the articles made necessary by the advent of the white people among them. They are quiet and peaceable. Many of them profess a regard for the teachings of the Roman missionaries, who have visited them more or less frequently for over a hundred and fifty years. . . .

"It was impossible to obtain a satisfactory estimate of the numbers of the Mountaineers. My stay in their vicinity [Rigolet] was too short to learn as much about them as was desired."

After long acquaintance with the Montagnais of the Lake St. John area, Chambers (1896) refers to this tribe as "the most interesting of Canadian Indians" (p. 123), and he comments further on the "peculiarities of this interesting people, and of the strange beliefs, superstitions, and manners of the men who paddle and pole [the sportsman's] canoe in the water, carry it over the portages, pitch and take down his tent, make his bed and his fire, cook and serve his meals, and conduct him to the likeliest spot for a shot at a bear or a caribou, or to the most promising grounds for ouananiche or trout." (P. 301.)

He also remarks (pp. 302–306) on the occurrence among them, especially in bygone years, of sorcery, immorality, murder, anthro-

pophagy, and the strangling of the aged and infirm who could not keep up with the rest of the party on hunting trips.

"Their territorial hunting rights, which are their most valued possessions, are not the father's to bequeath. These hereditary rights are vested in the woman, and the hunter only acquires the use of them by marriage." (P. 307.)

Their belief in evil spirits or Windigoes "is one of the most firmly rooted of their suspicions" (p. 308).

"The squaws are compelled to be the drudges of their husbands, and are usually only permitted to eat after them. The daintiest pieces of the game they kill are only eaten by the men. According to the latter, it would injure their future hunting prospects to give any of these tidbits to a woman. Yet in cases of actual want, an Indian, to do him justice, will leave his last piece of food for his squaw." (P. 314.) (In the more than three-score years since the time of Chambers' book, the woman's status has vastly improved, at least in the Moisie band, as may be seen on subsequent pages of the present report.)

"The territory hunted by each Indian family in Labrador is as much its own for hunting purposes as is a farmer's field for cultivation. Some hunters have several hundred square miles of territory in their respective game preserves. Bears and caribou and such like roaming animals are killed wherever seen, if wanted, but beavers and similar game and fur-bearing animals that inhabit restricted areas are the property of the hunter within whose territory they reside and breed. For any but their owner to kill them would be as unjustifiable as the shooting down of a neighbor's ox." (Pp. 318–319.)

"Christianity and the northerly advance of civilization have done much for these poor people, but they still cling fondly to many of their old superstitions. So far as morality and respect for law and order are concerned, the Montagnais and Nascapees of Labrador will now, as a rule, compare favorably with those boasting a loftier Christianity and a higher plane of civilization." (P. 320.)

"Recent years have witnessed a radical change in the appearance of the Montagnais language as printed and written by the Oblat missionaries. These zealous men, for the purpose of simplifying the art of reading for their Indian converts, have reduced the letters of the alphabet to sixteen, having eliminated b, c, d, f, q, v, w, x, y, z." (P. 327.)

"I cannot wish for the true angler and lover of these Northern woods and waters any more enjoyable experience than many that

have been mine in the company of Montagnais guides in camp and canoe" (p. 329).

Low (1896:45) writes on the Montagnais:

"The Montagnais are more or less of mixed blood, having intermarried with the old *coureurs des bois* and the French and English traders. This admixture of white blood is seen in the better physique of the tribe, the men being more muscular and broader than the pure Indian of the interior. As a rule, the men are of medium height, but a few are tall. The women are inclined to obesity as they advance in years, like their sisters of the northern tribes."

"Sandgirt Lake is an important gathering place for the Indians of the interior, on account of the number of routes that centre here. . . . The main route from the Hamilton River to Lake Michikamau also ends here. The Indians who trade on the lower St. Lawrence and hunt anywhere in this vicinity, always congregate here in the spring, and descend to the coast in company, either by the Romaine or Moisie River." (Low, 1896:147–148.)

I was informed by Ben McKenzie that during recent years a radar station at Sandgirt Lake had served to attract the Indians there. All were Montagnais, not Naskapi.

In 1905 Wallace (1907:14, 135, 136, 208, 287) met with some Montagnais from Davis Inlet who were hunting caribou on the headwaters of the George River (about lat. 55°15′ N.). In olden times a part of this tribe had hunting grounds between "Hamilton Inlet" [Lake Melville] and the upper George River. But by 1907, for the most part, they hunted south of Hamilton Inlet and traded at posts on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. At that period most of the St. Lawrence Montagnais had more or less white blood, while those inhabiting Lake Melville, the St. Augustin River, and the area to the eastward of that river were "pure, uncontaminated" Indians. In April, 1906, some members of the tribe had been driven to Sealnet Cove on the Gulf through failure to find caribou in the interior. Their food was almost wholly flesh, fish, and berries. They still used the bow and arrow for partridges and other small game. Some of the younger people had never seen a priest.

In referring to the Montagnais of the Lake St. John area, Speck writes (1909:154):

"At heart the Indians have lost their independence of life. The white man supplies all their physical needs—food and clothing—while the priest takes care of their spiritual needs. From this state of dependence the native is unable to rise. It is impossible for him to

revert to his primitive state of simplicity and it is just as impossible for him to master or catch up with the intricate ways of modern economy. In his natural state he labored less and had more; now he labors more and has less. The difference flows into the coffers of the . . . Company."

Bryant (1913:5) writes of some 25 Montagnais families who were gathered at St. Augustin in July, 1912, on their annual migration from the interior:

"The summer rendezvous on the gulf is the great event of the year to this wandering people. . . . The men have adopted the prosaic garments of their white brothers; but the women affect the most gaudy colors in their skirts and bodices. Perhaps the most characteristic detail of the women's dress is the Phrygian cap made of alternate sections of red and blue cloth. . . . These Mountaineers of the [southeastern] Labrador interior are a pure-blooded people who still adhere to the hunting life of their ancestors and have comparatively little intercourse with the whites." He writes further (p. 6) on "their unwillingness to have white men spy into the secrets of their country."

After a trip about 80 miles up the Natashquan River in 1912, Townsend writes (1913:171–172):

"According to the government census published in 1908, the Montagnais Indians along this part of the coast number 694 in all, distributed as follows: 76 at Natashquan, 241 at Mingan and 377 at Seven Islands. . . .

"Although some of the Montagnais are tall, the majority are rather short in stature, but lithe and wiry, with small hands and feet, and delicate, attractive features . . . . Many of the Indians show admixture with white blood. The straight black hair of the men is cropped below the ears, while the women tie theirs up in round black knots on either side. The men wear stockings of many colors pulled up to the knee over the trowsers, moccasins and wool or canvas jackets; the women, short plaid skirts, bright handkerchiefs about the shoulders and red and black liberty caps with embroidered bands. . . . Hind in 1861 pictured the same fashions."

Townsend also (1917:138) presents a brief picture of the appearance and costumes of the Montagnais at Grand Romaine in 1915. He refers (p. 144) to a portage path at Shekatica Inlet that had been polished for generations by the moccasined feet of the Montagnais on their way to the upper St. Paul's River.

In a later work (1918:57, 302–303), he says that the Montagnais

usually spend the whole winter (August to May) in the interior, and that during the summer they cruise along the coast, feasting on eider eggs and flesh.

A few comments by Cabot (1922) on the distribution of various groups of Montagnais may be inserted here:

"Along the Gulf the principal trading-stations are Bersimis, Seven Islands, Mingan, and St. Augustine" (p. 193).

"From the Gulf near Mingan, the hunters ascend the St. John, pass a difficult high portage to the Romaine, and proceed toward the Grand Falls region of the Hamilton" (p. 193).

"Eastward from Mingan the people travel the Natashquan, St. Augustine, and Eskimo Rivers. Their lands are chiefly between the Hamilton and the St. Lawrence." (P. 195.)

"The people who descend the Moisie in the summer gather at Sandgirt Lake on the Hamilton, apparently for the mere sake of seeing each other, and they keep together as may be until their final separation in the fall for their individual lands" (p. 207).

Comeau (1923) gives some very interesting glimpses of Montagnais traits, especially in the Godbout area.

Speck's several works (1909–1942; see bibliography) are too extensive to lend themselves to adequate and yet concise quotation. At the same time they are so authoritative and essential that any serious student of the Indians of the Ungava Peninsula will gain access to the originals. I cannot refrain, however, from quoting a few passages:

"It becomes imperative as a prelude to ethnological investigation in any region that the distribution of its population be ascertained, and the units, should they exist, assigned a location under their proper names. . . . In so large an area . . . as the Labrador peninsula . . . the need of knowing the contemporary distribution of its population . . . is obvious. Considering again the extent of country, its inaccessibility in all times, the sparseness of people, and the mysterious seclusion of its roving tribes, it is small wonder that such a preliminary survey has never as yet been made." (1931:573.)

"It will be noticed that the populations forming the band groups are localized within the drainage areas of the rivers and lakes" (1931: 574).

"Comment seems to be in place at this point concerning the part played by the game animals of several categories as an influencing factor upon the type of land tenure and upon the distribution of the differing bands of the well-forested southern portion of the peninsula and those of the barrens of the north" (1931:576).

Concerning the Moisie (or Seven Islands) band, to which my own acquaintance was limited in 1953, Speck (1931:585) makes the following comments:

"The Moisie people seem to be of mixed extraction so far as original units are concerned. The families who operate nearer the coast may be the residue of a population of former times which belonged south of the Height of Land, and the northern families of those belonging in the interior. . . . The families falling under this band classification number ten, and hunt and trap the territory up Moisie River and east of it to Mingan and Attikonak lakes, from the coast to the headwaters of Hamilton river beyond the Height of Land."

Speck's later and probably most important work (1935) on the Montagnais deals primarily with their spiritual culture, and thus lies for the most part beyond the scope of the present slight effort. Mention may be made of his plate 3 (facing p. 48) showing a Naskapi woman of the Moisie band and thus indicating a diversity of elements in that band. Corroboration is supplied by Tanner (1947, 2:578): "Descendants of the semi-settled Nascaupee are . . . to be found . . . among the Montagnais on [at] Seven Islands." Speck writes also (1931:587) of the Musquaro band on the North Shore: "Specimens of their language show them to be a branch of the so-called Naskapi."

For a comprehensive ethnographic description of early Montagnais culture (1600–1640), as reconstructed from contemporary sources, Lane (1952) may be consulted.

Speck (1936) discusses the natives in the extreme southeast of the peninsula:

"The Indians of the Montagnais-Naskapi group covering the entire interior of the Labrador peninsula are represented on their farthest eastern frontier by the small band hunting the headwaters of the St. Augustin, Shekatica[,] Paradise and Eskimo rivers to and beyond the Height of Land dividing the waters flowing into the Straits of Belle Isle from those going to Hamilton Inlet. The St. Augustin Indians emerge from their hunting grounds in the interior annually in spring, when the break-up of ice in the rivers permits them to descend by canoe, coming out to the Hudson's Bay Co. post at the mouth of the St. Augustin river to trade their winter catch of fur. They number at present only 49 persons. There is practically no mixture of blood." (Pp. 143–144.)

"This band, like all of those on the easterly coast . . . depended primarily on the caribou in former times. . . . The tighter pressure of famine each winter [not to mention . . .] have radically changed

economy for them." (P. 145.) (They now live largely upon white flour and lard.)

"The hunting territories of the band . . . are the traditional birthright of the natives" (p. 147).

"Skin clothing . . . has disappeared from use, except for moccasins and mittens. Contact with civilization has indeed routed the warm and adequate native materials of protective clothing from the vitals of their poor bodies to the shivering extremities! What an exemplified symbol of native fate!" (P. 150.)

"Twenty or thirty years ago the caribou were abundant. The Indians were practically living on them. . . . Then they decreased and were only found thirty or forty miles in the country (above St. Paul's river). In the last few years they have been more abundant." (Pp. 154–155.)

"There are certain measures which if adopted, even at some technical cost, would result in extraordinary benefit to the Indians of the eastern interior of the peninsula. The seat of their maladies lies in the evil of permanent malnutrition. Consensus of opinion of several experienced authorities who have intimate dealings with the Indians from Romaine to St. Augustin expresses a similar view of the cause of endemic tuberculosis attended with scrofula in malignant form. The remedial measures would seem to lie primarily and directly in the stabilization of the natural, I mean the wild, food supply. Incidentally, then, the other conditions of life affected by health conditions, the maintenance of social equilibrium, of moral control are secondary or become secondary circumstances." (P. 155.)

"What is meant by a 'poor winter hunt' will appear in the following list of the gross net kill made by the band the previous season; caribou 15, seal 1, muskrat 114, beaver 12, otter 10, fox 24, weasel 100, total value $125." (P. 156.)

"Now for the climax of my memorandum. If a solution be desired for the tragic condition of life to which the innocent have been brought by the apparently inexorable fate of collapse in the path of advance of a vicious Caucasian migration, one move is logically prescribable. It is, in short, to restrict the operation of invaders into the hunting grounds of the aborigines, thus barring the whites from free-land hunting and trapping beyond certain distances from the coast. Game in the interior is too uncertain a quantity to support life for more than a limited number of souls. . . . The annual influx of whites who leave their homes in the coast settlement to invade those of the Indians in the barren hinterland for winter hunting and

trapping is an overtax of the country's resources. For this the health, the morale, the vitality of the Indians pay the price with no indemnity—sacrifice entire!" (P. 157.)

The following are excerpts from Speck and Eiseley's account (1942) of the bands that are based upon Seven Islands as a trading center:

They refer (p. 215) to the Ste. Marguerite, the Moisie, the Shelter Bay, the Michikamau, the Nichikun, and several other bands as "now almost disintegrated groups."

In contrast to the northern and eastern bands, "matters are quite different in the economic circumstances of the bands of the southern and western portions of the Montagais-Naskapi habitat, where the hunting environment is that of the forest, where the game is more diversified and more abundant though smaller in size, and scattered through the forests. And here furthermore the moose enters into the economic system while the caribou is of the woodland race which runs in smaller numbers." (P. 220.)

"It is now evident that the two bands, Ste. Marguerite and Moisie, . . . have become amalgamated" (p. 222).

"It seems that the Petisikapau horde has suffered a fate similar to that of the Kaniapiskau and Nichikun people recently, and which is overtaking the Michikamau group at the time of writing. The disintegration of the band has thrown its members into the population complex to the southward, nearer the shore folk who make rendezvous at the Seven Islands post. Since the hunters from the Petisikapau endroits descend by way of Moise River and associate with the people deriving their identity from the Moisie, they have become considerably fused and intermarried with this group." (P. 224.)

Family names in the Moisie band are Picard, Moise, Pinette, Regis, Vollant, Rock, and Pilo (p. 225).

"The scarcity of edible large game animals, the devastation of the region by annual bush fires, not to mention the growing encroachment of Canadian-French trappers in the European drift northward to exploit new areas, is [*sic*] having a destructive effect upon their game resources. Reactions upon the human inhabitants, who for so long have lived in relative equi-balance in these deserts, have been noteworthily destructive in the long run." (P. 226.)

"It seems that the absorption of the interior bands into the coastal populations began with the movement of the Ashwanipi horde in the 19th century, joining with others to form the Moisie Band of later times, followed by the merging of the Petisikapau and Kaniapiskau families with these of the Ste. Marguerite Band, and lastly the

dispersion of the Nichikun people to join temporarily with the general populations of the coast at Seven Islands." (Pp. 226–227.)

"A very close connection exists between the Ste. Marguerite Indians and the Kaniapiskau families" (p. 227).

"The Nichikun band has been dissolved as a social unit since the abandonment of the Hudson Bay's [*sic*] Company at Lake Nichikun circa 1919" (pp. 232–233).

"Some took up their residence with the Moisie Indians while others joined the bands west of them" (p. 233).

"Questioning disclosed the fact that the Nichikun families did not separate and hunt or trap alone on inherited hunting grounds, as do the Montagnais south of them.

"The Michikamau horde is apparently the most integrated of the groups living in the central interior of the peninsula. The isolation of their habitat and the recency of their emergence from solitude into the confusing *milieu* of life at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Seven Islands have tended to preserve their social independence and fend off the disintegration through mixed marriages and adoption of French-Canadian ideals and manners." (P. 234.)

The Michikamau band leaves Seven Islands for the interior on August 1, and reaches "Menihek Lake by about October 5th. . . . Thence they move along by easy stages . . . , reaching . . . Michikamau by the end of October." From November "until toward the end of January they travel as a band, depending upon and following the caribou for food." Then "they separate again by families to pursue trapping in their habitually frequented tracts. About the end of March" they come "together again at the customary rendezvous on Menihek Lake. . . . Early in May the flotilla gets under way moving southward over the Height of Land . . . and down the Moisie River, arriving at the Moisie post almost punctually on the 25th of June." A few families "may refrain from the coast migration for many years, some never going down." (Pp. 234–235.)

It will be noted that there is considerable discrepancy as to details between the annual cycle of the Michikamau band, as related here by Speck and Eiseley, and that of Pierre Gabriel, presumably a representative of the neighboring Petitsikapau band, as related in the next few pages by Tanner (1947, 2:612–625). Among other things, it may be mentioned that if the Michikamau band waited in the spring for open water on the lakes, it could scarcely start southward before June. The downstream journey on the Moisie River at this season is so much easier than the upstream journey in the fall that it could no doubt be accomplished readily in less than a month.

Some 40 years after Bryant and Townsend had sketched the Montagnias way of life on the North Shore, at St. Augustin and Natashquan, and 20 years after Speck had done likewise for those of the St. Augustin area, Miss Leitch (1956) brings the account nearly up to date, with a portrayal of modern Romaine, at the mouth of the Olomane. There seems as yet to have been no very drastic or fundamental change. There are still "the old women of the village, in their voluminous tartan skirts and traditional Montagnais 'Liberty' caps," and "with a pipeful of tobacco." "Even some of the young moderns [girls] of the North Shore continue to bind their hair into two bobs, one over each ear, and wrapped with black ribbon." (These hair bobs are figured on pages 20–21.) The whole population of 303 was about to depart on its regular autumnal trip to the hunting territories in the interior. However, "as the frontier rolls east past Seven Islands, the Indians are slowly moving into housing projects and forgetting their old ways."

Tanner (1947, 2:612-625) provides an absorbing account of the annual cycle of the Indians of the North Shore, as told to him by Pierre Gabriel. An abstract follows:

"Pierre's group generally breaks up at Seven Islands about August 10th. They move up the Moisie River and usually two families go together." (P. 612.)

"Though [the Indian's] main food still consists of nature's gifts—fish and game—yet he must now also have flour, lard, sugar, etc. with him . . . . To carry all this equipment up to the lake plateau a family . . . will need 2 to 4 canoes . . . .

"The canoe must be paddled, poled, or tracked." (P. 613.)

"Along the Moisie River there are many well-worn portage paths around the falls and rapids proving the antiquity of this highway route . . . .

"Only after a month and a half of paddling and poling does Pierre arrive at his first big stopping-place: Ashuanipi Lake . . . .

"Thence they move comfortably further north along the watercourse . . . to Petitsikapau Lake." (P. 614.)

"Nowadays the different families do not, as formerly, feel themselves confined to certain hunting tracts which were theirs of old-established or inherited rights . . . . For the greater part of the time the Indians now live as separate families or groups of some few families." (Pp. 614–616.)

"The only protection against the elements which the Indians have is the linen tent . . . .

" Nor do the Montagnais systematically lay in a store of food; they build no *caches* like other hunters . . . .

In the autumn, "from Petitsikapau Lake Pierre's company bends south-east to Sandgirt Lake," whence they "spread out in different directions: away to Mishikamau Lake and even to the Notaquanon River or the Hamilton River. While waiting for winter to set in Pierre himself generally paddles away to the mysterious hunting-grounds around the sources of the George River which he still considers his family's hereditary possession . . . . But he tries to get back to Sandgirt Lake before it freezes. . . .

"In early October the caribou . . . collect round the sources of the George and Kipekak [Kaipokok] Rivers; the hunters therefore go there and kill many animals . . . . Especially Mishikamau Lake has been a regular autumnal rendezvous of Indians since very old times. . . .

"In early November . . . the winter gear must be examined and mended, the traps set, the canoes laid up . . . . The squaws dress the caribou skins." (Pp. 617–618.)

In winter "the long journeys on foot begin. . . .

"The family must take to snowshoes and drag all their baggage on the tabanasks [toboggans]." (P. 619.)

"The Indians travel from morning to night without stopping, day after day . . . .

"The fur-animal traps are set around the lakes in a line which may be thirty miles long . . . . The family first lives chiefly on the flesh of these animals, and on hare, porcupine and birds caught in the snares and on ice-fish. . . . Sometimes there are feasts when caribou are killed . . . .

"The result of the hunt [for caribou] is the property of the whole band . . . . In respect of other game the rule seems to be that those present at the death share in the booty, while all that is taken in snares or traps belongs entirely to their owner . . . .

"Fur-trapping is carried on between the end of October . . . and the end of March. . . . It has finally become at least as important as caribou-hunting; the skins are in demand at the trading-store, and in exchange for them the Indian can get ammunition, clothes and food." (Pp. 620–622.)

"When game is scanty . . . the Indian must fall back upon fish. . . . It is . . . the women's task to set out a net . . . or bait some primitive hooks." (P. 623.)

"Towards the end of March . . . the Indian goes on to hunt other

game, chiefly the caribou and the porcupine, always supplementing them . . . with fish when necessary" (p. 624).

"Generally in May a move is started towards the places where the canoes are laid up. . . .

"Arrived at the canoes the families prepare for the spring move. Some of them go to Seven Islands, others to North West River to meet their priests in the early summer. . . . Normally Pierre Gabriel can begin his canoe journey to the coast . . . in the beginning of June. He then goes via Astray and Ashuanipi Lakes. . . . The journey down the River Moisie . . . is made quickly. . . .

"On their arrival at the coast the annual cycle of Pierre Gabriel is at an end." (P. 625.)

There may be some slight confusion in Tanner's statement of Pierre Gabriel's annual cycle (possibly owing to language difficulties?). If the latter reached Ashuanipi Lake a month and a half after leaving Seven Islands on August 10, his date of arrival would be about September 22–25. Traveling thence to Petitsikapau, Sandgirt, and Michikamau lakes, and still farther to the sources of the George River, with a return to Sandgirt Lake before freeze-up (say ~~October~~ Novem 1), would involve a canoe journey of at least 400 miles. If allowance is made for being windbound on the larger lakes and for hunting caribou and curing their flesh and hides, such a schedule could scarcely be compressed into five or six weeks. In other accounts, Sandgirt Lake is referred to as a spring rendezvous, preparatory to the journey to Seven Islands. In addition to using canvas tents, the Montagnais now build log cabins on their trapping grounds.

This story of Pierre Gabriel's annual cycle points up a problem in the classification of the Indian bands of the Ungava Peninsula. Since Pierre's hunting territory comprises Petitsikapau Lake and a considerable surrounding area (*cf.* Tanner, 1947, 2:584–585, fig. 253), his group must be the Petitsikapau band of Speck (1931:565, map 2, and 1935:14, fig. 1). Yet, since his summer residence and his trading post are at Seven Islands, is he not also a member of the Seven Islands or Moisie band?

Let us examine another case. In 1953 Mathieu André was the chief of the latter band. During the previous winter he was reported to have secured a number of wolves somewhere east of Menihek Lake. This identifies him as the Matthieu André whose trapping grounds are shown by Tanner (1947, 2:584–585, fig. 253) to include the north end of Michikamau Lake and some of the headwaters of the George River. Also, it obviously identifies his group as the Michikamau band

of Speck (*loc. cit.*). His case would seem, therefore, to be another one of dual membership in bands. Under these circumstances would it not be logical to regard the Petitsikapau and Michikamau bands as merely subdivisions of the Seven Islands band? As a matter of fact, Speck remarks (1931:590): "I would not . . . insist upon separate classification as a band for these families" of Petitsikapau people.

Reading Tanner's account of Pierre Gabriel's activities puts me in mind of a visit made in July, 1953, to an unoccupied log camp (pl. 1, fig. 2) in a clearing on the Iron Arm of Attikamagen Lake. A larger cabin provided living quarters, while a smaller one may have been used for storage. The unpeeled logs were apparently spruce. A scaffold, supported by posts, probably served as a drying-stage for fish and game. There was also a sawhorse in the yard. A name, somewhere within the larger cabin, indicated that the proprietor was Joseph Gabriel—presumably a kinsman of Pierre, since Attikamagen and Petitsikapau are adjoining lakes. The contents of the cabin included a radio, a .22 rifle, two picture postcards of a sanitarium at Mont Joli (on the south shore of the St. Lawrence), and a Bible printed in Montagnais. On the roof of the smaller cabin were the skeleton of an otter (*Lutra canadensis*) and the antlers of a subadult woodland caribou (*Rangifer caribou*)—probably set up there in some sort of a propitiatory rite that is in general vogue among northern Indians. On the ground was a rotting skin of a caribou. Fireweed (*Epilobium*) and wild currant (*Ribes*) grew in the clearing.

Several weeks later, while my friend Ben McKenzie was relating some of the trapping experiences of himself and two brothers in the Menihek-Wakuach-Bringadin Lakes area three winters previously, he remarked that they made log camps and had little stoves in them, like tent stoves. Possibly the construction of such camps is a comparatively recent innovation, for Tanner writes (1947, 2:640): "As far as my information goes no Montagnais in Newfoundland-Labrador has erected a fixed dwelling-place, of wood or anything else."

"The Indians [Naskapi and Montagnais] . . . managed well enough . . . before the traders came and were better off in most respects than they are now . . . . The Hudson's Bay Company traders gradually persuaded the Indians to leave off hunting for meat to hunt and trap instead the animals whose fur they were anxious to buy, notably beaver, marten and fox. As the caribou became more scarce, the natives were driven to cooperate more closely with the traders, and finally became entirely dependent upon the fur trade for their livelihood. In return for pelts, the natives were given fire-arms, flour,

sugar, tea and other groceries, tobacco and woven goods. . . . The need for such interior posts [as those formerly located at Petitsikapau, Michikamau, and Kaniapiskau Lakes] has now passed, for the native peoples have both decreaseed in numbers and have centralized in quasi-stable communities along the coasts." (Cooke, 1958:7.)

The completion of the Q. N. S. & L. Railway to Knob Lake in 1954, and the subsequent development of the vast iron-ore industry in the interior of the peninsula, have fairly uprooted the ancient way of life for the Montagnais of Seven Islands and even the Naskapi and the Cree of Fort Chimo. According to Ross (1957), some 300 of these people had been relocated in the Knob Lake area for employment in the mining operations there. This inevitably means the virtual end of their tribal life as primitive wilderness hunters, with all its picturesque features. It remains to be seen whether their life as free nomads, including starvation and lesser hardships, can be satisfactorily exchanged for an industrialized, sedentary existence with its security and creature comforts. In such a transition, they are undertaking a single mighty leap across the pastoral and tillage stages of human development. This is the end of an era for many of the Ungava natives, and the negation of the prayerful wish quoted from Elton at the beginning of this report. It is verily a sad day for the ethnologist. No delightful, scholarly volume by some worthy follower of Turner, Cabot, Skinner, Speck, or Tanner can be brought forth, now or later, on the modernized native folk living amidst the roar of the mining machinery at Knob Lake. For them, the spiritual exhilaration of the silent, lonely wilderness has departed.

A recent visitor to the above-mentioned native settlement at John Lake (near Knob Lake) has remarked:

"Life for the Montagnais is not very pleasant on their new 'reserve' of unpainted, squalid, mud-splattered shacks . . . . Although the men have more work than at Seven Islands, the houses at Marie Otnem Reserve [Moisie] appeared to be a lot healthier—being government-built."

Under these circumstances the scanty notes that I was able to gather concerning my Montagnais friends, and that I venture to present in the following pages, may have a melancholy interest that would scarcely have attached to them, had these good people been able to continue indefinitely in their old ways, with a minimum of contamination from high-powered modern machinery.

## Montagnais Friends

Before my departure for the Ungava Peninsula in 1953, Mrs. Frank

G. Speck very kindly offered me some excellent suggestions on approaching and dealing with the Montagnais; these were based upon the experiences of Professor Speck and herself a quarter of a century or more previously. I recall especially her remarks on the unreceptive attitude of these people toward "jabbering Americans." In other words, I was advised not to "rush" the conversation with any of them I might meet, but to wait quietly and give them a chance to say something.

When I first saw a few Montagnais passing along the streets of Seven Islands in May, I rather despaired of making any contact with them at all. It was obviously out of the question, in such surroundings, to attempt to "button-hole" any of them as the start of a conversation. Language difficulties alone appeared insuperable; few of them know any language but French in addition to their native tongue, and my slight French bears little enough resemblance to the *québecoise* of the North Shore!

*Francis McKenzie*

But opportunities came eventually, as delightful as they were unexpected. For example, soon after my arrival at Knob Lake in June, a contingent of the Royal Canadian Air Force began making temporary use of the local seaplane base. When it required transportation of some heavy equipment from a certain lake to a mountain top more than a thousand feet higher and some 4 miles distant over a rough terrain, a group of about ten young Montagnais from the reserve near the mouth of the Moisie River, a few miles east of Seven Islands, were recruited for the portaging job. Though some of them were not of particularly robust build, the group's performance on the portage trail called forth the hearty commendation of the RCAF crew. [Gilbert Simard told of having once seen an Indian (presumably a Montagnais) carry a load of seven 100-lb. bags of flour up some steps to a second floor at a settlement on the Manicouagan River. The man had wagered that he could do so, and got the seven bags for winning.] Their countenances, in general, were pleasant and open. During their few intervals of leisure at Knob Lake, my friend Jean P. Labrecque, of the RCAF, kindly offered his services as interpreter, thereby enabling me to have some very interesting conversations with these Montagnais. They quite readily agreed to posing for their photographs (see front cover), besides furnishing the Montagnais names of many birds and other animals (see pp. 83–86) and giving information about caribou and other game. Their

leader and principal spokesman was Francis McKenzie, one of the sons of Sebastien McKenzie, whose acquaintance I enjoyed later in the season.

Practically all of the clothing worn by this group was store-bought, although one of them had a pair of sealskin boots, which I understood to have been secured by trade with Eskimos somewhere. Most of them wore bluish berets, adorned with a "pigtail" in the center. There were sport shirts (with red as a prominent color), ordinary outing shirts and trousers, sport coats, a sweater, leather-topped rubber boots, and "sneakers."

Some of them had been in the habit of resorting to this part of the interior in the fall for a few months of hunting and trapping; and perhaps again in January, after spending the Christmas season at their homes near Seven Islands. The long and arduous journey in the fall by canoe up the turbulent Moisie River to the Menihek Lake area would require about 20 days. They brought their wives and children, and some were chivalrous enough to carry wives over rough portages! They would start on the journey into the interior with about 100 lb. of flour and tea, but otherwise live on such food as the country affords: for example, trout (*Cristivomer namaycush* and *Salvelinus fontinalis*), pike (*Esox lucius*), rabbits (*Lepus americanus*), and porcupines (*Erethizon dorsatum*). Some of their people have starved to death in hard winters. The principal fur animals they capture are beaver (*Castor canadensis*), mink (*Mustela vison*), and marten (*Martes americana*). In olden days a family would secure about 70 beavers in a winter and sell their skins for $70 apiece. Apparently both species of caribou (*Rangifer caboti* and *R. caribou*) were to be had in this area, and there were some wolves (*Canis lupus*) and a few arctic foxes (*Alopex lagopus*). On journeys in winter they used sleds, hauled by themselves, but occasionally with the help of a dog or two. Apparently the food resources of the country do not suffice for the keeping of a larger number of dogs.

In securing the Montagnais names of birds, I would point out the colored plates and line drawings in Peters and Burleigh's *Birds of Newfoundland* (1951), and Francis McKenzie would set down the corresponding names in beautiful printed script. The general literacy of the group is evidently due to the faithful teaching of the Oblate Fathers at the *Pensionnat indien* at the Marie Otenam Reserve, Moisie. The spelling is obviously phonetic, and it is apt to vary slightly with the individual. The names seem to be largely descriptive (see Cabot, 1922:222), and I suspect that some of them

are onomatopoetic. One of the Oblate Fathers at the reserve, Père J. E. Beaudet (pl. 11, fig. 1), most kindly checked the bird names for me some months later, and also added names of a few mammals that I had missed.

I was actually able to comprehend the French spoken by Francis McKenzie (and by some of his fellow Montagnais later in the season) better than that I had heard from some of the French people in Seven Islands. The difference may have been accounted for, at least in part, by the more deliberate manner of speaking among the Montagnais. Among the group at Knob Lake, a couple were said to speak English. One or two had been engaged in carpentry work at Seven Islands. I was exceedingly pleased by a cordial invitation to visit their homes at Moisie during my return journey homeward in the fall.

Part of their leisure time at Knob Lake in June was spent in playing "catch," with a baseball and mitt. In their commodious bunk-tent they engaged in group singing—not merely Indian songs but also (sad to relate) the latest popular "hit," which they had learned over the radio. By 1960 the old chief of the Moisie band, Mathieu André, had moved to the Knob Lake area to take part in the mining operations there, and Francis McKenzie, at the age of 26, had become the new chief (information supplied by Sebastien McKenzie to Fred Farah).

### *Sebastien McKenzie*

In late July I arrived at Lac Aulneau for an 11-day stay at a geological camp of Holannah Mines Limited. The locality is about 80 miles south of Fort Chimo and 18 miles northeast of Fort McKenzie; it thus lies within territory occupied at least in past years by the Naskapi group based upon Fort Chimo and Fort McKenzie. A former Hudson's Bay Company's post at the latter point (abandoned in 1948) was managed from 1916 to 1936 by Sebastien McKenzie. He was now acting as a sort of general factotum at the camp of eight or nine men at Lac Aulneau. A distinctly pleasant feature of my stay there was making his acquaintance. Sebastien almost certainly is the person to whom Michelson (1939:89) refers as "Bastian Mackenzie at Seven Islands who has been at Fort Mackenzie." He expresses the opinion that "Bastian" came from Bersimis. Again (p. 90): "Bastian Mackenzie, who has met Great Whale River Indians, Chimo Indians, those of Mingan, etc., says the Great Whale River Indians are Crees."

Sebastian was then 68 years of age. He had been born and raised at Seven Islands, where his Scottish father was manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's post. His other affiliations were with either the Montagnais or the Naskapi, or possibly both. His present home was in the reserve at Moisie. He was the only member of that group with whom I had an opportunity to converse in English. He also spoke French, Montagnais, and doubtless Naskapi, in view of his long residence at Fort McKenzie. Prior to that sojourn, he had been in the habit of spending his winters in hunting and trapping in the Menihek Lake area. He was evidently one of the most widely traveled of the Moisie group.

One of the memories of his boyhood (at the age of 14) was coming across the remains of an Indian family somewhere west of Michikamau Lake, in the month of April. The family had consisted of man, wife, and five children. Only the woman was intact, sitting up and leaning over. Of the rest of the family, just the bones remained, in bags; they had been designed for being pounded up for soup. There was "moss" (presumably mold) about the mouth of the woman. It is bad luck for a woman to look upon such a death; only a man may. Such stark tragedies of starvation and anthropophagy were not exactly rarities in the old days; and thus they could be related in a somewhat matter-of-fact or unemotional way.

Sebastien told of other hard times—starving and traveling; and the woman of the family would stop now and then to nurse a child in an effort to provide it with nourishment.

About 50 years previously (perhaps in 1905, when Cabot found mice at an extraordinary peak of abundance in the Assiwaban River area), Sebastien had observed a similar mass occurrence in the Opiscoteo Lake area, where he was located at that time. He had not again met with comparable numbers until 1953, when meadow mice (*Microtus pennsylvanicus*), and red-backed mice (*Clethrionomys gapperi*) were fairly overrunning a large portion of the interior of the peninsula. He had not witnessed the "plague" of lemmings (*Dicrostonyx hudsonius*) at Burnt Creek in 1949, since he was then at Moisie or Seven Islands. He provided me with many other useful notes on the fauna and on the Montagnais names of various animals; these I have incorporated in separate reports on the mammals (1961), birds (1958), and fishes (1962) as well as on pages 83–86 beyond.

Among other things, he gave me some interesting bits of information about the Labrador Barren Ground caribou, whose present

numbers are a mere shadow of the former hordes. At one time he had gone hunting to Indian House Lake, where the Naskapi in olden days had slaughtered their thousands of caribou.

One of the Montagnais names he supplied was that of "Atsensketsan" for the Northern Shrike (*Lanius excubitor borealis*). Its meaning, he said, was something like "devil," but not so strong; "bad bugger" would serve approximately. Perhaps it was a similar (Naskapi?) name that Cabot had in mind when he wrote (1912:143): "Indians give the unpleasant name of Torturer to the shrike, for it plays with its victims like a cat, picking them gradually away." Speck (1935:237) gives the definition of "cannibal demon" for "Atcen," as used by the Moisie band.

As for the continent-wide native belief in bad luck resulting from the discovery of a Canada Jay's nest or from killing one of the birds (*Perisoreus canadensis*), Sebastien granted that when he was a boy, his father admonished him not to kill the "Whisky Jacks" ("Oiskitshan" in Montagnais). He nevertheless did so, when away by himself. Perhaps his father also told him not to keep any Whisky Jack found in a trap, but to throw it away.

Some years previously an ethnologist (whose name was not recalled; possibly Michelson?) had employed Sebastien by the day to relate to him Indian folk-tales. One of the tales, said to deal with a black bear and a brown bear, aroused my interest on the possible chance that the latter might be identical with the mysterious Ungava grizzly (*Ursus* sp.). But Sebastien said the brown bear existed only in the story—not in real nature. I was disappointed in that I did not learn from him anything about the grizzly, which I feel confident once existed in Ungava, though now probably extinct.

A tale he told me presumably belongs in the realm of mythology, although he gave it a factual air. It pertains to some sort of aquatic animal said to be found in a lake on the upper Kaniapiskau River. A drawing he made shows a creature with a sort of tadpole-like outline: an undifferentiated head and body, without legs but with a broad caudal appendage. Yet it is a furred animal, perhaps three feet in length. It was said to have been seen beneath 2 inches of ice, and to have made a noise like a squirrel scolding. A couple of months later Jérôme St. Onge gave me an account of a somewhat similar animal in the same general area.

Sebastien made a little contribution to the native pharmacopeia in showing me some sections of a young tamarack (*Larix laricina*),

saying that he boils up the inner bark and uses the concoction for dressing wounds.

He had a clear recollection of the time in 1917 when W. E. Clyde Todd and his party from the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh passed Fort McKenzie on their long canoe journey from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Fort Chimo.

The geologist in charge of the camp at Lac Aulneau spoke in glowing terms of Sebastien's responsibility and his upstanding qualities. For example, earlier in the season the latter had threatened to quit the camp unless the cook were restrained in his singing of ribald songs. When I mildly expressed a wish for some whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis*) specimens, Sebastien took it upon himself, without a word, to set a gill net in the lake, and he was thus able very shortly to present me with a couple of fine specimens.

He also posed most accomodatingly for a variety of photographs—in sealskin coat, boots, and leggings and a knitted woolen tam-o'shanter (the latter presumably reminiscent of the Scottish side of his ancestry) (pl. 6, fig. 1); in store clothes decorated with Hudson's Bay Company medals, which had been issued on the occasion of its 250th anniversary in 1920; cleaning a Lake Trout on the sandy shore of the lake (Harper, 1962:pl. 2); and coming into camp with a log on one shoulder and an axe on the other (pl. 6, fig. 2). In the background of this last photograph was his small, very neatly kept canvas tent, where I enjoyed an occasional visit with him.

He had arrived at this camp very early in the season (in April), in order to construct some of the wooden buildings for the accommodation of personnel and supplies. The plywood materials had been transported by air from Seven Islands; the other lumber perhaps came from no farther away than Knob Lake.

He corroborated the account given by his son Francis about carrying his wife over difficult portages. He does so himself. But this happens only when his wife is sick. He and his son sometimes have a single dog to help in transporting their camp gear in winter; but for the most part they haul it themselves on sleds. He spoke of 60 portages between Seven Islands and Lac Aulneau; some of them are very bad—knee-deep in mud.

A couple of days after I had returned from Lac Aulneau to Knob Lake, I received from Sebastien, by air, a thoughtful present in the form of a nestling Rough-legged Hawk (*Buteo lagopus sanctijohannis*).

During a stay of several days in early October at Seven Islands,

while on my way homeward, I set out one afternoon to visit some of my friends of the summer at the Moisie reserve. As luck would have it, Sebastien was in Seven Islands at the moment, just returning to his home in a taxi driven by one of his Montagnais neighbors. I gladly accepted his invitation to accompany him. The road extends some 9 miles eastward at a little distance back from the edge of the lofty wooded bluff overlooking the Gulf. I had become so accustomed, in conversing with others of the Montagnais, to using such French as I could muster, that I continued, unconsciously, to do so on this ride with Sebastien, until he sang out, "Talk English!"

At the reserve I found some 30 to 40 fairly new frame houses laid out in several straight rows on the level top of the bluff. They were said to have been built by the government. All are of about the same size, and they show little variation in design. They seem to consist of a combination kitchen and dining-room and living-room, two bedrooms, and a bathroom. A wooden platform, or roofless porch, stands at the entrance. Perhaps because of the newness of the construction, there was a general absence of grass or shrubbery in the yards. A couple of old log cabins—forerunners of the frame houses—remained, but without occupants. At the west end of the village are the school and other buildings of the *Pensionnat indien,* and on the north side a store of the Hudson's Bay Company. The immediate surroundings of the dwelling area are pretty generally wooded. I noticed no indication of agriculture.

"The actual reserve at Seven-Islands measures 261 acres . . . . The Seven-Islands Montagnais are generally being settled in a village (P. O. Malietonam [*sic*]). A large number of them are still nomadic." (Laviolette, 1955:204.)

On arrival at Sebastien's home, we sat for a time in the living-room, where I was introduced to his wife. While the latter was preparing for a portrait of herself and Sebastien, I went out to photograph a group of neighborhood boys, who had appeared at the porch, with an inevitable couple of dogs. They were a bright-looking lot of youngsters (pl. 12, fig. 2), carrying on much as boys do the world over.

For his portrait Sebastien appeared in what may have been a beaverskin cap. When it was presently suggested that I might photograph his 84-year-old brother Alexandre and the latter's wife, living next door, I was delighted at the opportunity. Both wore moccasins, perhaps of sealskin and caribou skin, respectively. The wife was one of not more than an exceedingly few Montagnais women whom

I noticed still preserving the ancient style of wearing the hair in knots suspended below the ears (pl. 12, fig. 1). She also had the traditional parti-colored peaked cap. The present Alexandre McKenzie is probably identical with the "Alexandre Mackenzie" of Speck and Eiseley (1942:217, 236, fig. 2), who include him in the Michikamau band, with summer quarters at Seven Islands (or Moisie). I was advised that his memory had so far failed that it would be useless to question him as to old acquaintance with Professor Speck.

On a brief visit in 1960 to the Knob Lake area, Fred Farah (*in litt.*, August 5, 1960) found Sebastien operating a provision store at the reserve on near-by John Lake. The latter kindly passed on, through Fred, various items of information of interest to me, including the numbers of Montagnais, Naskapi, and Cree now congregated in that area, among a total population of 5,000. Sebastien had previously made for Fred a Montagnais bow and several arrows. The arrows have a blunt wooden tip for hitting small game, such as partridges, and the shaft has no feathering. The bowstring had been made of caribou hide by Sebastien's wife.

*Ben McKenzie and Georges Michel*

A sojourn of twelve days in August with Gilbert Simard's surveying party (pl. 4, fig. 2) at Mollie T. and Leroy lakes was particularly enjoyable. This was due not only to the extraordinary cordiality and hospitality of Mr. Simard and his two French-Canadian associates (J. Laurent Véronneau and Pierre Côté) from the Quebec-Montreal area, but also to the presence of four Montagnais axemen, not to mention the fine services of the party's very agreeable chef, Henry Larouche.

The nature of my work and the knowledge and experience of the Montagnais in respect to the fish and game of the region quickly brought a fine rapprochement between us. While our conversation was limited by language difficulties, the other half of the camp was always ready to oblige in interpreting.

"Ben" McKenzie (an identification card indicated that his real first name is Bertelemy) was particularly friendly. I learned that he was a son of Alexandre McKenzie, whom I was to meet later at Moisie. After the day's work of the camp was over, Ben and his special buddy, Georges Michel, would come now and then into my tent, and they would thus provide me with opportunities for securing information regarding the local fauna.

Three winters previously Ben and two brothers had trapped in this general area. He had stayed at Menihek Lake, while the others went

elsewhere. Since the railway had not then been constructed, they had obviously made the journey from Moisie by canoe. They had no dogs for hauling sleds. Their operations apparently extended up through Petitsikapau Lake, north to Wakuach Lake, and west to Lac Bringadin. For quarters, they made small log camps and provided them with small stoves, like a tent stove. Their catch consisted largely of mink, otter, marten, weasel, muskrat, and fox, with some (but not many) lynx and beaver. He spoke of the winter occurrence of perhaps a hundred long-horned caribou (that is to say, the Barren Ground caribou) on a treeless mountain about 10 miles east of Mollie T. Lake.

One evening I was asking Ben about the food of Lake Trout (*Cristivomer namaycush*). By way of answer, he went out and presently returned with the six-day-old remains of a big specimen. When its stomach was opened, there was exposed the badly decomposed body of an 8-inch coregonid fish, with a number of obscure dark spots on its sides. These proclaimed it a Round Whitefish (*Prosopium cylindraceum quadrilaterale*)—one of extremely few specimens that I met with during the season. He gave me the further very interesting news that these fish occur by the "thousands"—obviously a spawning aggregation—in late September or early October in a brook by the old airstrip near Knob Lake. There they may be caught by hand in the shallow water, to serve for later use as bait in the traps set for fur-bearers.

For an evening's diversion, the Montagnais were fond of canoeing down to the outlet of Mollie T. Lake for a try at Brook Trout. When a bucketful or so would be brought back, I would be invited to look over the catch and to select whatever specimens I might wish for preservation. Or they would set a gill net in the lake and bring me some Common Whitefish from it.

When I trapped my first specimen of a Labrador varying lemming (*Dicrostonyx hudsonius*) at the "alpine garden" on near-by Sunny Mountain, and sought to learn the Montagnais name for the species, I was astonished to find that they had none—they were totally unfamiliar with the animal! Jokingly I remarked: "Shame on you, Ben, to let me come from a place 1,200 miles away to show you an animal in your own country that you didn't even know about!" That evidently put Ben on his mettle. The next free day he and Georges Michel set out over the alpine Barrens to Geren's Mountain, some 4 miles to the northwest. There they somehow flushed a lemming, which had the misfortune to seek refuge in a shallow hole,

where it was captured alive. And so they bore it back to camp in triumph; they had evened the score. Evidently this species occurs only in the northern part of the Montagnais territory, and chiefly above timberline, where it had been easy for such a small, secretive animal to escape their notice.

On the same excursion Georges had secured for me a Rock Ptarmigan, which had presumably been summering and breeding on the wonderful Arctic-Alpine heights of Geren's Mountain. It was quite unexpected there, at such a distance from the nearest part of its principal breeding haunts on the main Barren Grounds. These lie either 150 miles or so to the eastward, beyond the George River, or some 200 miles to the northward, beyond the Koksoak and the Larch. Altogether it was one of the most prized specimens of the entire season, and it afforded a fine illustration of the valuable help that a naturalist may derive from his Montagnais friends.

It was Georges who had made the actual capture of the lemming. He displayed his agility again on the day when we were making a new camp in a very attractive lichen woodland at Leroy Lake. A spruce mouse, when disturbed from a hole at the base of a stump, scurried off over the surface of the ground, but Georges overtook it within a few rods and once more made a capture. This provided my first opportunity to study and photograph a live individual of the little-known *Phenacomys ungava crassus.* (It had been likewise with the lemming.) A few days later the spruce mouse had the distinction of being shipped off by air to the Army Medical Center in Washington.

One evening at Leroy Lake, Georges Michel and Joseph Georges St. Onge made a little canoe excursion, without my prior knowledge though for the special purpose of being able to present me with a muskrat— the only complete specimen of the species that I brought back from Ungava. It now reposes in the study collection of the United States National Museum. The next day Ben McKenzie made me the beneficiary of a red squirrel's injudicious approach within reach of his canoe paddle.

At about this time Mr. Simard asked, with something of a twinkle, if I knew the nickname that the Montagnais had for me—"le bonhomme." In French idiom, he explained, this means something like "the old boy," but is scarcely meant unkindly or disrespectfully. On the way back to camp from a day's work in the bush, he had overheard one asking another what sort of a specimen they might get "pour le bonhomme." I was as pleased with the title as with the

specimens, which comprised not only mammals, birds, and fishes, but even flowering plants. The next month, at far-off Ashuanipi Lake, I was referred to again, but by an entirely different Montagnais, as "le bonhomme." ["Chez les Montagnais parlant français, le mot 'bonhomme' n'implique qu'une acception respectueuse. Il désigne une personne agée et plus particulièrement le doyen du groupe." (Rousseau, 1955:215.)]

It is worthy of remark that throughout the season I could not induce any of the Montagnais, who were connected with the various field parties that I visited, to accept financial compensation for the specimens they brought me. When pressed, one would be apt to walk away. How different their attitude from that of northwestern Indians! Here they seemed to be motivated merely by a spirit of genuine helpfulness. I could do little more in return than present such friends with a few leftover supplies at the end of the season, and send them prints of the photographs for which they had so freely and obligingly served as subjects.

One evening, in Mr. Simard's tent, we held something of a symposium on Ben's knowledge of fishes, birds, and mammals. Mr. Simard and his associates took the part of interpreters while I plied Ben with questions. His answers are recorded in separate reports, but there may be room here for his account of muskrat hunting:

In October, about ten years previously, he and two companions secured 300 of the animals on "Oskoas" Lake in about 15 days, while waiting for the freeze-up. The three would operate by night in a canoe: one in the stern to paddle; one in the bow to strike the muskrats with another paddle; and one in the middle to finish them with a stick. Another method was to put a bag over the under-water entrance to a burrow, and then to strike the ground above to drive the muskrat into the bag.

He also reported the following method of capturing a marten: When you see one, yell at it, and it goes up a tree, where you can shoot it. He had never seen a wolf.

An interesting bit of Montagnais folklore came to light on the morning of August 15, when a Common Loon (*Gavia immer*) passed high over Mollie T. Lake, giving its wild cry. Ben thereupon remarked that the day would be windy (see Speck, 1935:126). Sure enough, there was a brisk wind on Sunny Mountain that afternoon. Hind wrote long ago (1863, 1:131) of the wild cries of loons being followed by wind and rain.

When a woodland caribou was secured and eaten at Harris Lake

in September, one of the Montagnais in the party is said to have danced several times, with a bone from the animal in each hand, beating them together; but the others were too abashed to join him. Moreover, several of them ate the marrow raw, but one, who had apparently been brought up in a North Shore settlement rather than in "the bush," "couldn't go it."

### *Willé Pinette*

I became acquainted with Willé Pinette when I returned to Knob Lake in mid-September from a month's sojourn to the southward, at Ashuanipi and Carol lakes. During the main part of the season he had been engaged, with Jérôme St. Onge, in prospecting for one of the mining companies in the Leaf Lake area near the shores of Ungava Bay. He was now at the seaplane base, painting a fleet of canoes about to be put into winter storage. We got into conversation over the skin of a black bear, which I was inspecting prior to packing it for shipment. When the animal had been secured in early August, some of us had estimated its weight at 250 lb. Willé remarked that some of the Ungava bears get bigger—say up to 300 lb. in the fall. This suggests that black bears may not attain such a large size here as in more southerly regions, where weights of 400 lb. or more are reported fairly commonly.

Subsequently Willé dropped in a couple of times at the bunk-tent where I was quartered. When I referred to my linguistic deficiencies in trying to converse in the only tongue common to both of us, he was gracious enough to confer upon me the best (I might rather say, the *only*) compliment on that subject that I heard during the season: "Vous parlez français pas mal." His own French was so clearly and deliberately spoken as to be readily understandable. He is a cousin of Kom Pinette, with whom I had recently become acquainted on the Ashuanipi River. I was interested to learn that Willé's home is at Moisie; and more particularly that his winter trapping-grounds have been for many years about 120 miles north of that point, at Eric Lake, on the headwaters of the Magpie River. The Montagnais name of this lake is *Kaoaseiapisiloetin*—equivalent in French to Lac des Rochers. When young (perhaps 30–35 years previously) he had gone there with his father. Thus Eric Lake could perhaps be regarded as an inherited family territory (see Speck, 1931:576; Speck and Eiseley, 1942:218). The authors just cited (1942:225) list the Pinettes as one of the ten families making up the Moisie band.

In the past Willé had made the journey to Eric Lake in the fall by canoe, and had stayed there for a six-months period. He has two

dogs, which help in drawing a sleigh. He is accompanied by his wife and five children. They live in a log cabin, with glass windows. The children had not become old enough to help in the trapping. No other family winters nearby. From 1953 onward his travels to the interior have doubtless been by rail.

His winter's catch of game, food, or fur-bearing animals in 1952–53 included the following:

Snowshoe rabbit (*Lepus americanus*), many
Red squirrel (*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus*), numbers not indicated
Beaver (*Castor canadensis*), 18
Red fox (*Vulpes fulva*), 8
Marten (*Martes americana*), 25
Weasel (*Mustela erminea*), 45
Mink (*Mustela vison*), 50
Otter (*Lutra canadensis*), 10
Woodland caribou (*Rangifer caribou*), 3
Spruce Grouse (*Canachites canadensis*), many
Ptarmigan (*Lagopus* spp.), many

The returns from such a catch, in addition to his summer earnings, should provide him with a very comfortable livelihood. In some former years he had secured as many as 10 of the caribou. Twenty years previously he had taken a single fisher (*Martes pennanti*); but meanwhile the porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum*), a primary prey of the fisher, had disappeared, and with it the predator. The wolverine (*Gulo luscus*), even in years past, did not occur. Likewise there are no skunks (*Mephitis mephitis*). The black bear (*Euarctos americanus*) and the muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*) must be present, but they did not happen to be enumerated. Willé said there are a few wolves (*Canis lupus*) about Ashuanipi Lake, but he reported none about Eric Lake.

In the fall he puts up apparently several thousand fish for winter use. They include Lake Trout, Whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis*), Red Suckers (*Catostomus catostomus*), Gray Suckers (*Catostomus commersonii*), and Pike (*Esox lucius*). Presumably they are taken in gill nets.

This was by far the best account I secured of a Montagnais family's winter life on their trapping grounds. No doubt many others of the Moisie band who are scattered over the interior during the colder months lead essentially similar lives.

It may be of interest to compare Willé's winter catch of 1952–53 with one made nearly a century previously by Domenique, a Mon-

tagnais chief of Seven Islands, in an area about 40 miles northwest of Eric Lake and perhaps half that distance south of Ashuanipi Lake. Domenique reported (in Hind, 1863, 1:80–81) 30 caribou, 4 bears, 8 martens, 12 foxes (including 1 black), and 3 otters. Thus the latter apparently made a better record in food values, but a poorer one in fur values.

When I visited the Moisie village on October 10, I had the pleasure of seeing Willé Pinette and his family at their home. I had hoped to secure their portraits, but after I had called upon several other friends, the waning daylight prevented me from realizing this wish. Fortunately, Willé had previously sat for his portrait (pl. 7, fig. 1) at Knob Lake. It represents a man of dependable, agreeable, and decidedly friendly character. What a privilege it would be for a naturalist to share his adventures on his wintering-grounds!

### *Kom Pinette*

Kom, his wife, and five children were the only native family that I met with in the interior. In former years the entire Moisie band was accustomed to spending the summer on the North Shore of the Gulf and making hunting and trapping excursions into the interior only during the other seasons. In 1953, however, opportunities for work at good pay in the construction camps at such places as Mile 224 Airstrip and Knob Lake, or with various surveying and prospecting parties, induced some of the men to return at an unusual season.

In Kom's case, he was apparently on ancestral hunting grounds along the Ashuanipi River just below Ashuanipi Lake. For when another Montagnais secured a mink along this part of the river, close to Mile 224 Airstrip, and disposed of it, Kom is said to have protested the act as a transgression of his territorial rights.

He seems to have occupied part of his time in purveying game to the near-by camp. Otherwise he was engaged in building a two-room frame cabin, meanwhile securing the materials from piles of scrap lumber at the camp and lugging them on his back half a mile or so to the building site on a bluff by the river, just above the first rapids below the lake. Pending the completion of the cabin, the family had rather cramped quarters in a tent little more than 7 × 7 feet in ground coverage.

I made Kom's acquaintance in late August through our mutual friend, Fred Farah, of the Iron Ore Company of Canada, whose facility with French was a decided help on that and other occasions. The words "Sept Iles" on the front of Kom's sweater proclaimed his

station and affiliations. He was ready enough to be photographed there at the big camp; but when I learned that his family was down by the river, I suggested adjournment to that more appropriate environment. By the time Fred and I, laden with three cameras and a supply of oranges, reached the place, Kom was already there.

The family was evidently a very compatible one, and all were in good humor. Even the wife smiled and laughed—not at all in the tradition of an unexpressive or stoical Indian woman. [As Speck remarks (1926*a*:65) concerning his experiences with a Montagnais trapper during a January journey northwest of Lake St. John: "The tradition of taciturnity with which the northern Indian is accredited is everlastingly shattered by the flow of conversation and exchange of jokes lasting through most of the night."] She appeared with a papoose strapped in a baglike cradle (see Skinner, 1911:45–46, fig. 25). The other children were Bastien and Michel, two engaging boys of about 12 and ten, and two little girls, of about six and one and a half. The larger girl undertook to carry the papoose on her back. There were said to be two older boys, at work in some other area. When I spoke of my acquaintance with several McKenzies, Kom said that his wife was Sebastien's daughter.

Several of the photographs were taken at the front of the partly built cabin. Bastien evidently understood the nature of motion pictures, for while I was operating my Bell and Howell, he began of his own accord to toss an orange into the air, as if to provide a little action. Further photographs were taken at the tent in the rear, where the smoke-pipe of a little stove projected from the open front. But first I suggested removing from view such appurtenances of civilization as a couple of lard buckets, and the little girl put aside a Fly-tox gun. Two skins of the harbor seal or "Loup marin" (*Phoca vitulina concolor*) were produced, and one was soaked in a basin of water, perhaps to indicate a softening process preliminary to making it into moccasins. Practically all of the family except the youngest ones assumed some cooperative share of the work in hand—Bastien pouring water into the basin for his mother, Michel hanging up one of the skins on or by a spruce, and Kom holding the papoose while the wife was occupied with another of the sealskins (pl. 7, fig. 2).

The cheerful and accomodating spirit of the Pinettes was further illustrated by Kom's suggestion of a little movie scenario—the family paddling ashore with a laden canoe, the wife and children taking various loads to carry up the bluff, and Kom bringing up the rear. Though little more than 5 feet in height, he was enabled by his sturdy

build to pick up the large canoe single-handed, swing it overhead, lower it till a thwart rested on his shoulders, and walk easily up the river bank with it. Meanwhile one of the children happened to drop its load, causing the mother to collapse to the ground and fairly rock back and forth with merriment and laughter at the youngster's little mishap. The scene would have been an eye-opener to anyone with a preconceived notion as to the stoical nature of Indian women. It was assuredly a genial and friendly family.

That morning Kom had killed four Black Ducks, and we saw the wing of one of them by the river's edge. He also reported a "Ground Hog" or woodchuck (*Marmota monax*) killed there recently, and thrown into the river when it became smelly. If I had been there in time, it would have enabled me to add a species to my collection of Ungava mammals.

The next day, on my way to the seaplane base at the foot of Ashuanipi Lake, I stopped at the camp long enough to disburse a few presents: tobacco for Kom, needles for his wife, candy and a squeaky rubber mouse for the youngsters. After supper Kom appeared at my tent with a handful of small gastropod mollusks (*Lymnaea*) from the river, presumably as an expression of gratitude for the presents of the afternoon. We also secured from him a number of Montagnais names of fishes and other natural objects. Specimens brought from the river at other times, by either Kom or the boys, were a Brook Trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*), a Common Whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis*), a Round Whitefish (*Prosopium cylindraceum quadrilaterale*), a Red Sucker (*Catostomus catostomus catostomus*), and a stone-fly.

As I was preparing to devote the afternoon of September 4 to a photographic excursion along the Ashuanipi River, Bastien and Michel appeared at the camp, and I invited them to accompany me. We were able to carry on a limited conversation in French, and sign language served where words failed. I had a fair load of cameras in my packsack, and Bastien offered to carry the tripod. The boys were pleasantly simple and natural in their conduct, exhibiting neither shyness nor forwardness. It was very agreeable to have their company as we set off acros the airstrip and down the slope to the river. Bastien was wearing moccasins of sealskin, while Michel's were of caribou skin; both kinds were made by their mother. The name for those of caribou skin is *pishakanesin*.

When we paused for a photograph of the dense spruce forest by the riverside, luxuriant with mosses and lichens (Harper, 1961:pl. 2,

fig. 1), the boys fitted gracefully into an environment that was their natural heritage. They always wanted to look at the ground glass of my 4 × 5 Korona camera and amuse themselves with the upside-down image on it.

As we passed upstream, the boys began to pluck and eat some ripe (and half-ripe) mooseberries (*Viburnum edule*). Michel made such an enticing picture as he sat on the bank and contemplated a berry in his fingers that I induced him to hold that natural pose long enough for a photograph (pl. 10, fig. 1). In nearly every case of this sort I merely secured a pictorial record of the activities that the boys were pursuing with entire spontaneity. Presently Bastien was sitting in a pensive attitude on a boulder at the edge of the river as he looked out over the rapids (pl. 8, fig. 1). Then Michel sprawled over the same boulder and reached far downward for a drink of the Ashuanipi's waters (pl. 8, fig. 2).

As I was getting ready for another photograph of the river, I noticed that the boys were passing the time in playing "mumbledepeg" (pl. 9, fig. 1), just as I used to do in Georgia nearly threescore years previously. Doubtless this was a game of European derivation, rather than an aboriginal one.

As we neared the Pinette camp, the boys ran on ahead, presumably to announce my coming. On arriving there, I asked if they would bring their little sisters down to the river bank to be photographed (pl. 9, fig. 2). When the younger one was inclined at first to whimper in the presence of the stranger, the boys diverted her attention by inducing her to do a little shuffling dance. Possibly this represented an early training for some sort of Montagnais dance more or less akin to the nocturnal tea-dances of the western Cree, such as I had witnessed and photographed at Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska in 1914.

Presently I planned a separate photograph of the older girl, but when I suggested to Michel that he first remove something like a crumb from her cheek, she retreated to the cabin and stayed there. "Elle a peur," Michel explained. I then suggested a portrait of their mother with the baby in its swaddling clothes, but the boys reported that the latter was "malade," as indeed I had heard several days previously. The mother came very obligingly by herself and sat on a rock, where I had just secured a focus on Michel. So she was spared any embarrassment of waiting during such a process, and she could hardly believe it when I announced in a very few moments that the picture had been taken (pl. 10, fig. 2).

In writing names, Kom seemed inclined to use an *n* where others of the Moisie band would use an *l*: for example, *inineo* vs. *ilineo* for Spruce Partridge, and *Michen* vs. *Michel* for his son's name. This is a characteristic of the Naskapi language, as found from Seven Islands eastward (see Michelson, 1939:72, fig. 12). Kom, though raised at Moisie (or Seven Islands), may represent a Naskapi element in that somewhat mixed group (*cf.* Speck, 1931:585, and 1935:pl. opp. p. 48).

After my return home, while reading Rousseau's account (1949) of his trip down the George River in 1947, I was intrigued to learn that "Comis" Pinette and Remi Regis (another member of the Moisie band with whom I became briefly acquainted at Knob Lake) had been members of his party. Rousseau refers (p. 105) to Kom as of Naskapi origin.

Kom, however, was born at (or near) Seven Islands, and was living there in 1960, not having joined those of his neighbors who had moved to the Knob Lake area (Sebastien McKenzie, *per* Fred Farah, *in litt.*, August 5, 1960).

### *Jérôme St. Onge*

Jérôme St. Onge, one of the Moisie band, had been, at various times in previous years, a valued member of Gilbert Simard's surveying parties in the hinterland of the North Shore. During the summer of 1953 he had been engaged in prospecting in the Leaf Lake area of northern Ungava. On his return from the north in late September he paused for a few days at Knob Lake, where Mr. Simard made me acquainted with him.

Some weeks previously I had heard from our mutual friend about Jérôme's remarkable prowess in capturing that valuable fur-bearer, the marten (*Martes americana*). About 1944 a fur trader had offered a merchant a fantastic price for live martens. Thereupon Jérôme made arrangements for the merchant to supply him with cash, provisions, and a plane to transport him to a lake about 50 miles north-northwest of Shelter Bay. He camped there with his wife, a small son, and a nephew. The nephew, Joseph Georges St. Onge, was in Mr. Simard's party in August, 1953, at Mollie T. Lake, and he supplied some of the details that I heard there. Jérôme would track down the martens, capturing two of them by hand in their holes in the snow and others in cages baited with beaver meat.

In early spring, 1941, Jérôme had been with Mr. Simard's surveying party on a tributary of the Romaine River near Lac Allard.

One day, about 3 p.m., he detected a marten's track and followed it for 3½ miles, when he treed the animal and killed it with a thrown stone. He returned to camp about 9 p.m. with his booty.

At about the same period he secured two nestling owls somewhere in the interior and brought them back to Seven Islands (or Moisie), where he kept them in the attic of his house. During the daytime they were loose and would follow him around the village, perching on telephone poles. One night he threw a cat into their quarters, and the next morning there was nothing left of it but the tail. The ready way in which they disposed of the victim suggests that they were Great Horned Owls (*Bubo virginianus*).

One evening at Knob Lake Jérôme dropped in for a chat with me in the bunk-tent where I was quartered. He at once gave the impression of being a person of marked intelligence and generally upstanding qualities. I was able to understand his leisurely and deliberate speech probably as well as that of any French resident of the North Shore. He was evidently aware of my interest in securing specimens of Ptarmigan, and he came to tell me particularly of seeing some of their tracks in the snow on a high ridge between Knob Lake and Burnt Creek. He wrote for me the Montagnais names of a Wilson's Snipe (*Capella gallinago delicata*) and a Pine Grosbeak (*Pinicola enucleator eschatosus*) that I had secured that day. He also presented me with the cased skins of a muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*) from Swampy Bay River and a Labrador varying lemming (*Dicrostonyx hudsonius*) from the Leaf Lake area. The latter is of special interest in representing a rich brown color phase that apparently had not been previously recorded for the Labrador species.

On October 10, when I made a long-anticipated visit to some of my Montagnais friends at their homes in the *Reserve indienne* at Moisie, a few miles east of Seven Islands, I found that Jérôme's house contained the village post-office, under his wife's charge. He kindly offered to accompany and guide me to the west end of the village, where a large school was maintained under the direction of the Oblate Fathers. School being over for the day, the children were playing outdoors, where I filmed a group of the girls (pl. 13, fig. 2) as well as one of the boys (pl. 13, fig. 1). The former were a little shy, but giggly enough. The boys were full of spirits, but not unruly; they thronged for a time about a cage containing several red squirrels (*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus*) and a wheel that the little animals could scarcely be induced to turn. Here I also met two of the Oblate Fathers, the Pères Beaudet and Laurent. To the tutelage of such

devoted missionaries the Montagnais doubtless owe their high degree of literacy. Père Beaudet (pl. 11, fig. 1), with an excellent command of English, has subsequently given me some much appreciated advice on the Montagnais names of animals that I had compiled during the season and that appear on later pages of this report. He has also contributed some names in addition to those that came to my knowledge in the field. Before we parted, Père Beaudet spoke in high commendation of Jérôme; and I, in turn, made known my wish that he would take some later occasion to express to Jérôme my own cordial esteem for him (my French being insufficient for the purpose).

The sun and the temperature were now dropping, and we hastened back toward Jérôme's house. On the way he pointed out a couple of old log cabins that had been occupied by the Montagnais before the government undertook to build the new village for them. Here a dog came to fawn upon him, with proper affection (as a good judge of human nature). At Jérôme's house there was still daylight enough for a photoghaph of himself and his family (pl. 11, fig. 2). I was invited indoors, where I packed up my cameras and presented my friends with a few odds and ends of equipment that were left over at the end of my field season.

By that time supper was ready, and a place was indicated for me at the table. The tasty and excellent meal consisted of meat, mashed potatoes, gravy, home-made bread, butter, and tea, with preserved fruit and cake for dessert. Two little girls had their supper in a corner of the room, while Mrs. St. Onge joined Jérôme and myself at the table. I could not help contrasting, to myself, the traditional diffidence of the womenfolk of the Georgia piney woods in bygone years, who would not think of sitting at table with their menfolk when a guest was present, but would occupy themselves with bringing food to the table (and whisking the flies away) until their turn came at a second setting of the table. Here the good wife not only took part in the general conversation, but at one point, when she had risen momentarily from the table to attend to some food or dishes, she returned and leaned affectionately on her husband's shoulder while listening to our talk.

During the supper, with an outdoor temperature in the 40's and an indoor temperature in the 60's, the door had been kept half open to offset the moderate heat from the cookstove. Oh for the physiological adaptation of the Montagnais to the rigorous climate in which they live!

Jérôme showed me an album of photographs, many of which had evidently been taken by the Montagnais themselves. One that particularly interested me showed a group of four or five of the men, in the midst of the antlers and skulls of perhaps 25 or 30 Labrador Barren Ground caribou (*Rangifer caboti*). It had been taken somewhere along the George River, and was reminiscent of the old days of abundance when the Naskapi of the Indian House Lake area piled up such relics of their chase. One of the men in the group was Remi Regis, whom I had met at Knob Lake. He and Kom Pinette had been members of Rousseau's party that descended the George River in 1947 (see Rousseau, 1949:89). Evidently the photograph was a memento of that trip.

When I was ready to leave, Jérôme summoned one of his Montagnais neighbors, who drove me in his taxi as far as the airport, where I connected with a bus for Seven Islands. So ended a long-to-be-remembered afternoon among my good friends at Moisie.

There was further evidence of Jérôme's cooperation in advancing our knowledge of the mammals of Ungava when, under date of October 29, 1956, he sent to the National Museum of Canada a dermoid cyst from a caribou (probably *Rangifer caribou caribou*), with an accompanying explanatory note (see Banfield, 1958). This rare abnormality, according to Indian myth, develops into a caribou, which comes out of the host in the form of a two-year-old animal. Jérôme's note was sent from the Indian reservation near Knob Lake, indicating that he, like many others of the Moisie band, has transferred his residence from the old village site on the North Shore.

### *Montagnais Names of Animals*

The following list includes such Montagnais names of mammals, birds, amphibians, and fishes as I was able to secure in the field. In nearly every case, the spelling is that of the natives themselves. For each species, the English and the technical names also are given.

These Montagnais names, in so far as they are represented at all in Lemoine's *Dictionnaire Français-Montagnais* (1901), are not, in general, identical with the names in that work. The fact that Père Lemoine lived most of the time at Maniwaki (*fide* Père J. E. Beaudet, *in litt.*, October 14, 1961), more than 500 miles southwest of Seven Islands, may account for the discrepancies. Maniwaki appears to be in Algonkian territory, separated by the Tête de Boules from the Montagnais area about Lake St. John.

Since subspecific determinations, in general, can be made only in

the laboratory, with pertinent literature available, it is not to be expected that the Montagnais would recognize, or discriminate between, the subspecies of a given species. (A single exception may be noted in the case of the Salmon and the Ouananiche, which are rated by ichthyologists as no more than subspecifically distinct—if that much!—and yet bear distinctive names.) This state of affairs has led to a certain degree of variation in presenting the English and the technical names. If, in the case of certain species, just a single subspecies occurs in Montagnais territory, I endeavor to employ an English name that applies particularly to that subspecies and to make the technical name a trinominal (for example, American Goldeneye, *Bucephala clangula americana*). On the other hand, if two or more subspecies of the same animal occur in this region, each presumably bearing an identical name in the Montagnais language, I use the English and the technical names in a sense covering the species as a whole (for example, muskrat, *Ondatra zibethicus*); in such a case the technical name is restricted to a binominal.

This procedure may not be applied strictly in every case; for example, in the present state of our zoogeographical knowledge of the Ungava Peninsula, it is not always certain whether more than one subspecies of a given animal occurs in the territory of the Montagnais.

The principal informants, to whom I am greatly indebted for these names, were Sebastien, Francis, and Ben McKenzie, Kom Pinette, and Jérôme St. Onge. Père J. E. Beaudet, O.M.I., was kind enough to check the names supplied by our mutual friends, and to add a few others from his own knowledge of the Montagnais tongue.

"Almost all the names of fish and other creatures are plainly descriptive" (Cabot, 1922:222). Some of the bird names appear to be onomatopoetic.

MAMMALS

| *English* | *Technical* | *Montagnais* |
|---|---|---|
| Bear, American black | *Euarctos americanus americanus* | Mask |
| Beaver | *Castor canadensis* | Amisk |
| Caribou, eastern woodland | *Rangifer caribou caribou* | Atok |
| Fox, red | *Vulpes fulva* | Oishao tsesho |
| Fox, Ungava arctic | *Alopex lagopus ungava* | Oapi tseshish |
| Lynx, Canada | *Lynx canadensis canadensis* | Pisho |
| Marten, American | *Martes americana* | Oapistan |
| Mink | *Mustela vison* | Tchékash |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Moose, eastern | *Alces alces americana* | Moose |
| Mouse, meadow | *Microtus pennsylvanicus* | Assioapokoshish |
| Mouse, northern white-footed | *Peromyscus maniculatus* | Mistapokoshish |
| Mouse, red-backed | *Clethrionomys gapperi* | Kaoappikoshishapokoshish |
| Muskrat | *Ondatra zibethicus* | Otshisk |
| Otter, Canada | *Lutra canadensis* | Nkok |
| Porcupine, eastern Canada | *Erethizon dorsatum dorsatum* | Kak |
| Rabbit, American snowshoe | *Lepus americanus americanus* | Oaposh |
| Seal, Atlantic harbor | *Phoca vitulina concolor* | Atshok |
| Shrew, masked | *Sorex cinereus* | Tsinistoapokoshish |
| Skunk, northeastern striped | *Mephitis mephitis mephitis* | Tséka |
| Squirrel, northern flying | *Glaucomys sabrinus* | Oponikotsash |
| Squirrel, red | *Tamiasciurus hudsonicus* | Annikotsash |
| Weasel, Richardson's short-tailed | *Mustela erminea richardsonii* | Socoshish |
| Whale, white | *Delphinapterus leucas* | Mistimek |
| Wolf, eastern timber | *Canis lupus lycaon* | Meiken |
| Wolverine | *Gulo luscus luscus* | Kwakwatcheo |
| Woodchuck | *Marmota monax* | Otshek |

## BIRDS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Blackbird, Rusty | *Euphagus carolinus carolinus* | Tshetshe kenoi |
| Bunting, Eastern Snow | *Plectrophenax nivalis nivalis* | Popon pineshish |
| Chickadee, Eastern Black-capped | *Parus atricapillus atricapillus* | Tipeikan pineshish |
| Chickadee, Hudsonian | *Parus hudsonicus* | Pitshi kiki |
| Crossbill, Red | *Loxia curvirostra* | Oatshi koteshish |
| Crossbill, White-winged | *Loxia leucoptera leucoptera* | Oatshikoteshish kaoapishit |
| Crow, Eastern | *Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos* | Aasho |
| Dovekie | *Plautus alle* | Tsikaoniss |
| Duck, Black | *Anas rubripes* | Ilni shep |
| Duck, Harlequin | *Histrionicus histrionicus* | Nost paostokoeshish |
| Eagle, Northern Bald | *Haliaeetus leucocephalus alascanus* | Kaoapestokoanet mestsho |
| Eider, American | *Somateria molissima dresseri* | Nessep |
| Flicker, Yellow-shafted | *Colaptes auratus* | Pipistshish |
| Goldeneye, American | *Bucephala clangula americana* | Meshe kosk |
| Goose, Canada | *Branta canadensis* | Nesk |
| Goshawk, Eastern | *Accipiter gentilis atricapillus* | Kakaopetak |
| Grosbeak, Pine | *Pinicola enucleator* | Kamishistit mishoi |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Grouse, Hudsonian Spruce | *Canachites canadensis canadensis* | Ilineo |
| Guillemot, Black | *Cepphus grylle atlantis* | Tshimoshomash |
| Gull, American Herring | *Larus argentatus smithsonianus* | Mesh tshiask |
| Gull, Great Black-backed | *Larus marinus* | Opoeioeo tshiask |
| Gull, Iceland | *Laurus glaucoides* | Tshiask kaoapishish |
| Hawk, American Rough-legged | *Buteo lagopus sanctijohannis* | Shakotom |
| Hawk, Marsh | *Circus cyaneus hndsonius* | Notshineo oesho |
| Jay, Canada | *Perisoreus canadensis* | Oiskitshan or Oiskitsan |
| Junco, Slate-colored | *Junco hyemalis hyemalis* | Otete pisho |
| Kingfisher, Eastern Belted | *Megaceryle alcyon alcyon* | Tshisse melsho |
| Kinglet, Eastern Golden-crowned | *Regulus satrapa satrapa* | Kaioassi koniskoeones |
| Kinglet, Eastern Ruby-crowned | *Regulus calendula calendula* | Tshatshao nish |
| Knot, American | *Calidris canutus rufa* | Notapiskoeshish |
| Lark, Horned | *Eremophila alpestris* | Nanioet |
| Merganser, Hooded | *Lophodytes cucullatus* | Meste shok |
| Merganser, Red-breasted | *Mergus serrator serrator* | O shok |
| Old Squaw | *Clangula hyemalis* | A a oco |
| Osprey, American | *Pandion haliaëtus carolinensis* | Koshi mesheo |
| Owl, American Hawk | *Surnia ulula caparoch* | Pepe nestshish |
| Owl, Horned | *Bubo virginianus* | O sho, or O o |
| Owl, Snowy | *Nyctea nyctea* | Oapi kino |
| Pintail | *Anas acuta* | Oapeneshep |
| Ptarmigan, Hudson Bay Rock | *Lagopus mutus rupestris* | Keske tshish |
| Ptarmigan, Ungava Willow | *Lagopus lagopus ungavus* | Oapineo |
| Raven, Northern | *Corvus corax principalis* | Ka katsho |
| Redpoll, Common | *Acanthis linaria* | Kaipishissit mishoi |
| Robin, American | *Turdus migratorius* | Pi pitsheo |
| Sandpiper, Spotted | *Actitis macularia* | Katsha kaskopiniot |
| Scoter, American | *Oidemia nigra americana* | O momok |
| Scoter, Surf | *Melanitta perspicillata* | Koaiken |
| Scoter, White-winged | *Melanitta deglandi deglandi* | Koiskoshipatom |
| Shrike, Northern | *Lanius excubitor borealis* | Atsensketsan or Mishoi |
| Snipe, Wilson's | *Capella gallinago delicata* | Ka moskoashst—or Otitipesho? |
| Sparrow, House | *Passer domesticus domesticus* | Tshi moalo |
| Sparrow, White-crowned | *Zonotrichia nigrilora* | Oaposkao pineshish |
| Sparrow, White-throated | *Zonotrichia albicollis* | Tante nipatshiko tshikotshin |
| Swallow, Tree | *Iridoprocne bicolor* | Shakoeikenesh |
| Tern, Arctic | *Sterna paradisaea* | Tshiask oeshish |
| Warbler, Blackpoll | *Dendroica striata* | Tossi pimansh |
| Yellowlegs, Greater | *Totanus melanoleucus* | Sheshesho |

AMPHIBIANS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Toad, Cope's | *Bufo terrestris copei* | Nik |
| Frog, Northern Wood | *Rana sylvatica cantabrigensis* | Omatshiskok |

FISHES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Burbot, American | *Lota lota lacustris* | Meli, Meni, or Miri |
| Capelin | *Mallotus villosus* | Keskenemekosh |
| Cod, Atlantic | *Gadus callarias* | Ononoi |
| Eel, American | *Anguilla rostrata* | Oppimmishoi |
| Herring, Lake | *Leucichthys artedi* | ?Atshikoshmek |
| Ouananiche | *Salmo salar ouananiche* | Ouananiche |
| Pike, Northern | *Esox lucius* | Tshinosheo |
| Salmon, Atlantic | *Salmo salar salar* | Otchatchomek |
| Stickleback, Three-spined | *Gasterosterous aculeatus* | ?Tsistaskoannamesh |
| Sucker, Common | *Catostomus commersonii commersonii* | Makatsheo |
| Sucker, Red | *Catostomus catostomus* | Mikoashi, or Mokoashi |
| Trout, Brook | *Salvelinus fontinalis* | Matamek |
| Trout, Lake | *Cristivomer namaycush* | Kokemesh, or Kukumess |
| Whitefish, Common | *Coregonus clupeaformis* | Atikameg |
| Whitefish, Round | *Prosopium cylindraceum quadrilaterale* | ?Potmekosh |

### *Indian Dogs of the Ungava Peninsula*

My own opportunities for observing these dogs were limited to a few moments on October 10 at the Moisie village near Seven Islands. At that time I was scarcely aware of the peculiarities of the two Montagnais breeds and of the interest attached to them. In any event, I was too much engrossed with other matters on that crowded afternoon to pay any particular attention to dogs, other than including two of them (an adult and a puppy) in some photographs. These dogs were perhaps of the breed that is used for help in hunting. The photograph (pl. 12, fig. 2) suggests that they were of the same type that was kept by the Montagnais at Natashquan forty-odd years ago, as described by Townsend (see below). The adult, as revealed in a Kodachrome, appears somewhat as follows: buff-colored, with whitish face, collar, feet, and tail-tip. The tail was curly. The animal was of the size of a smallish hound.

It may be useful to review some of the accounts in the literature.

R. Curtis (1774:386), on a visit to the Labrador coast in 1773, remarks on the large dogs of the Eskimos, "whereas the dogs of the Mountaineers [Montagnais] are extremely small."

"Dogs are very useful to [the Montagnais] Indians, in finding bears during the winter, when their hiding-places are covered with snow.

They smell the torpid animal, and thus discover his den." (Hind, 1863, 1:184.)

In describing the embarkation of some Montagnais families at Natashquan for Musquaro, Townsend writes (1910:163):

"The small slinking foxlike Indian dog, black and tan in color, was everywhere, each one nervously anxious not to be left behind." He adds: "Every family possessed a cat, either carried in arms, or harnessed and straining at the leash, or again following free like a dog." The cats were said to be "a recent acquisition," and to be "treated most kindly as pets."

In a later work (1918:54) Townsend describes these dogs further:

At "the Indian encampment at the mouth of the Great Natashquan River," we "were received by a rush and chorus of Indian dogs. These dogs are very different from the Eskimo dogs and are much smaller. They are long-haired with pointed noses and ears and curled-up tails, and are generally black and tan in color with white bellies and white tips to their tails."

Glimpses of Montagnais dogs are shown in some of Townsend's plates (1918:opp. pp. 86, 168).

Referring perhaps more particularly to the Montagnais of the Lake St. John area, Cabot writes (1922:204):

"Bears are found even in midwinter, sometimes by aid of the small dogs . . . .

"The keen little dogs referred to are indispensable in the hunting of small game, joining their efforts and senses to those of the family in a marvelous way. In traveling by canoe, they are often put ashore to run the banks, with great effect. An Indian dog, a pole, and a noose are as effective a combination in hunting some of the grouse kind as almost any that can be brought to bear."

One of the breeds of the American aborigines is discussed by Allen (1920:464) under the name of "Short-legged Indian Dog." It was apparently distributed from British Columbia to Quebec, and perhaps to New England and New York. One of the dogs (Allen, 1920: pl. 5, fig. 1) was photographed by William B. Cabot at Bersimis, Quebec. "The large head, erect ears (somewhat laid back in the photograph), long, heavy body, short, straight legs, up-turned tail, agree well with other descriptions. This particular individual has the spiritless air of an old dog." (P. 465.) (Speck's photographs [1925] seem to show no dogs so extremely short-legged.)

"These smaller dogs were apparently the familiar household pets or hunting companions of the Indians of forested country or of the

canoe-using tribes. They were too small to be of service as pack-animals with *travois* or *pannier*." (P. 467.)

Père "Le Jeune speaks [in 1633] of the familiarity of the [Quebec] Indian dogs, that in winter they are unable to sleep outside and come into the cabins, lying and walking over the inmates" (p. 468).

The most comprehensive account of the dogs of the Montagnais is evidently the one by Speck (1925), from whose paper the following excerpts are made:

"The tribes of the Labrador peninsula . . . use dogs extensively for the transportation of their valuable cargoes of fur and provisions in their winter wanderings." He concludes that the practice, and "even the dog stock itself, have been derived by the Montagnais . . . through contact with the French Canadians." (P. 58.)

"The Montagnais have several types of dog. First to be mentioned is a small, decidedly vulpine race: the prominent, pointed, upstanding ears, the pointed nose, the silky hair, and whitish belly are characteristic. In color, dogs of this race are brown, reddish, or white and gray. They have a light delicate step, a trim graceful figure, and and an amiable disposition. . . . These, considered the real Indian dogs, undoubtedly represent the original strain. They serve only as trailers, for their scent being keen and their actions quick, they make excellent, intelligent hunters. The hunting dog constitutes a decided type . . . . About thirty years ago there were no dogs other than these among the Lake St. John Indians, and they did not 'train.'" (Pp. 58–59.)

"The driving animals, in contrast to the breed just described, are ordinarily big hardy beasts, with broad heads and short hair. Usually their features indicate affinity with the European dog races, but occasionally some mixture with the Eskimo husky is evident." (Pp. 59–60.)

"The breed of dogs used for sledding by the Montagnais of Lake St. John and . . . eastward generally as far as Seven Islands, is a mongrel shaggy beast, prevailingly dark brown, of a rusty, worn hue, or black, with a slight admixture of white" (p. 60).

"As regards the technique of dog transportation among the Montagnais, . . . an European origin is convincingly suggested not only by the breed of the large dogs . . . , but in many details of harnessing and management" (p. 61).

Speck shows figures of the hunting type on pages 58 and 59; of the train dogs, on pages 60–63.

Tanner (1947, 2) writes:

"The Montagnais' little, long-nosed 'cracky dog' is invaluable to the hunter . . . . Yet many people may be surprised that the Indians have no draught animals. Large dogs are not kept by them as a rule, partly because of the food they require and partly because the cunning huskies soon learn to rob the traps. Only a few Montagnais are said to keep a span (1-2) of dogs, but the Naskaupee are said to be better-off: they move about in districts where caribou meat is plentiful; many of their families have a komatik with a team of husky-dogs. The use of the dog as a beast of burden is unknown in Labrador." (P. 620.)

When a caribou herd suddenly moves to far distant parts, then "the hunters try to track single caribou—a very uncertain prey; they must leave the smaller game they still have to the family in the camp and spread out farther inland with their cracky dogs" (p. 633). Tanner shows such a dog in one of his photographs (p. 616, fig. 262).

At Romaine, Miss Leitch (1956:19) mentions "the yip-yip-yipping of a dozen 'crackies,' the small, Indian hunting dogs tethered along the edge of the plateau."

Miss Leitch has kindly supplied (*in litt.*, January 12, 1962), from P. K. Devine's *Folklore of Newfoundland* (1937), the following definition of "crackie": "A small dog. A lap dog, lively, frisking and barking." One of the definitions in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933) is "abounding in conversation"—which is perhaps not too far-fetched for application to a dog that "yip-yip-yips."

Through the kindness of Henri Ouellet, of the National Museum of Canada, I have had an opportunity to examine Kodachromes of two "cracky dogs," taken at St. Augustin in the summer of 1961. I was quite nonplused by their short and rounded ears, until Mr. Ouellet (*in litt.*, August 8, 1962) provided the following information: "According to an Indian ritual, that was not very well explained to me, all the 'cracky' dogs used for hunting, in the St. Augustin area at least, have their ears cut off near the skull; this is supposed to improve their hunting qualities."

The following notes are based upon the Kodachromes. Most of the whole body of one dog is not very clear white, with a pale buffy wash on ears, shoulder, neck, side, and parts of forelegs; the bushy tail hangs nearly straight down. In the other dog the chest, shoulder, venter, and limbs are whitish; likewise a median dorsal line on the snout and the area about the nostrils and mouth; face, below and in front of eyes, mouse gray; crown buffy brownish, with a white median streak; ears a little browner; back dark mouse gray; tail not visible.

Mr. Ouellet writes: "All the specimens I have seen display a curled-down tail"—in contrast to the generally described curled-up tail.

Some of the Cree, Naskapi, and even Montagnais have obtained Eskimo dogs. For example, Skinner writes (1911:43) of conditions among the Eastern Cree:

"In winter, sleds drawn by Eskimo dogs, are used for traveling, but according to the Indians this custom was derived from the Eskimo, from whom the Eastern Cree still purchase dogs for this purpose."

At Lake Mistassini the train dogs "are almost of the pure husky type, and the technique employed in harnessing and driving them is strictly Eskimoan" (Speck, 1925:60).

When Mrs. Hubbard (1908:161) came in 1905 to a camp of Montagnais at Resolution Lake, near the head of the George River, she found "some six or eight splendid Eskimo dogs" that "prowled about snarling at one another." The one shown in a photograph on the plate opposite page 158 is clearly enough a Husky, and not one of the Montagnais breeds. This band of natives, while maintaining contact with Seven Islands or Mingan, also made trading visits to Davis Inlet on the Atlantic Coast, where presumably they had been able to obtain the Eskimo dogs. At Resolution Lake they evidently managed to kill enough of the Barren Ground caribou to provide food for these big dogs.

Strong (1930*a*:5) makes a slight reference to the use of dogs by members of the mixed Montagnais-Naskapi band of Davis Inlet in the hunting of Cabot's caribou: "When these are seen they are followed, often with dog sleds, until the game is fairly close at hand. Then the dogs are secured, and the men, keeping carefully to leeward of the deer, creep as close as possible." These were presumably Eskimo dogs.

"It is . . . most interesting to find how much the Naskaupee have borrowed from the Eskimo. Some of them have procured draught dogs. Strong says that . . . the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground people used a few Eskimo dogs, which were harnessed to the sled in fan-shaped formations, but this art, like the *komatik* with runners, was only acquired from the coastal Eskimo some fifty odd years ago. Prior to that the men pulled their own toboggans, and the small white Indian dog was used only for hunting small game. These dogs are now almost extinct." (Tanner, 1947, 2:694.)

"A few men [of the Eastern Cree], using snowshoes and drawing toboggans, since dogs are scarce among the Indians, may return [from

their trapping grounds] to Great Whale River in midwinter, to exchange skins for flour, sugar, and other supplies" (Honigmann, 1952:513).

Deep snowfall was a deterrent to the use of dog-teams in the eastern woodlands. Most Mistassini families had a small hunting dog, but they did not keep sleigh dogs. (J. W. Anderson, 1961:67, 104.) On the other hand, teams of Eskimo dogs were used in fairly recent years (the 1930's) for travel along the east coast of James Bay (*op. cit.*:177).

McLean (1932:260) indicates a lack of dogs among the Naskapi during his time (1837–1842): "When they remove from camp to camp in winter, the women set out first, dragging sledges loaded with their effects, and such of the children as are incapable of walking."

A passage in Turner (1894:309) suggests that in his day likewise the Naskapi of the Fort Chimo area had no draught dogs, but merely a small type that was perhaps identical with, or at least analogous to, the Montagnais hunting dogs:

"When on a journey the younger women and the men drag [the sled] along. When the men return to the station to trade they alone drag it. A small dog is sometimes hitched to it by a thong, but as the animal is so small and light, it affords but little assistance. The animal, however, would certainly wander off in search of game along the track, and by being hitched to the sled it is kept within bounds."

The scant attention given by Turner to dogs indicates that they then formed an element of comparatively little importance in the life of the Naskapi of the Fort Chimo area. At that period the Naskapi may not have been sufficiently familiar or friendly with the Eskimos to have acquired draught dogs from them. Turner says (p. 184) that the local Indians and Eskimos "do not intermix."

In Sebastien McKenzie's time (as reported by him), the Naskapi (of the Koksoak River area?) used very few dogs in winter; a man would have perhaps one or two. Obviously most of the sled-hauling was by man-power—or woman-power. At Indian House Lake, Sebastien said, the people kept dogs all the time, in view of the abundance of caribou for feeding them.

However, it still remains a question as to how long the latter group —the so-called Barren Ground Band—may have had the use of large draught dogs. For example, Cabot (1912) seems to make no reference to seeing any dogs among his native friends at Indian House Lake, and none appear in his photographs, although the large num-

bers of Barren Ground caribou in the area at that time should have enabled the Naskapi to keep dogs.

*Indian Dances of the Ungava Peninsula*

Skinner (1911:40) and Speck (1935:179–180) give extremely few descriptive details of dances among the Eastern Cree and the Montagnais, respectively. It would appear that neither had been present at any of the "old dances" anywhere in the peninsula.

The former remarks (p. 40): "Memories of but few native dances now remain among the Eastern Cree and these have been set aside for the square dances of the Europeans." He secured with difficulty some meager information concerning certain primitive dances—the war dance, the conjuring dance, the feasting dance, the deer (caribou) dance, the bear dance, and the midé dance. On a later page (73) he adds that in former times, after a caribou was killed by the Cree, "a 'deer dance' was held but no information can now be obtained concerning it."

The dances were in vogue a century ago, as attested by Hind (1863, 1:245): "The goose-dance is a time-honoured custom among the Crees of the Saskatchewan; and similar rejoicings and ceremonies exist among the heathen Montagnais and Nasquapees." Furthermore, Couper remarked (1868:9) that the Montagnais "are fond of music, singing and dancing."

"Religious ceremonial dances cannot be shown to exist among the native populations of the peninsula. Nevertheless, dance performances appear in which spiritual influences are invoked, though they seem to concern only the individual. The dance . . . is indulged in at times when families come together in the bush, but more especially when they gather at the various rendezvous at the lakes of the interior and at the post and missions along the coast. This, however, is somewhat against the wishes of the missionaries, who do not seem to understand how essential such emotional outlets are to the native's mental balance, or how much better adapted to native mentality these are than the but half-comprehended Mass." (Speck, 1935:179.)

"A scientific discussion of the dancing is hardly possible for here the art as well as the religion of dancing is not a regulated one. The steps are of one form, for men an alternate shuffling with the foot brought down heavily and a shake of the whole body; for both sexes the arms, hanging loosely at the sides, and chest are given a violent jolt at each step." (Speck, 1935:179–180.)

Speck and Eiseley (1942:236–237) give the following brief hint: "It was stated that they [a group of families operating in the general

vicinity of Michikamau and Dyke lakes] hold feasts and dances at the time when they depart and arrive at their destinations." There is a suggestion of a caribou dance and of another dance still being practiced in that part of the peninsula (pp. 73 and 78, *antea*). But where has there been an eye-witness account of a full-fledged Montagnais dance?

"The Chimo Journal for 11 June 1899 gives a pleasant picture of a summer Sunday there: . . . The Indians were having a big feast [of caribou?] this afternoon; they had the drum going all the time." (Elton, 1942:346.) The use of the drum suggests that a dance may have been in progress among the Naskapi.

European square dancing seems to have replaced the primitive native dances among the Eastern Cree at Great Whale River (Honigmann, 1952:518, 519).

Further details in regard to the caribou dance (or feast) briefly referred to on page 73 (*antea*) have come to hand from my excellent correspondent, J. Laurent Véronneau (*in litt.*, May 31, 1961). His recollection, nearly eight years after the event, has naturally dimmed somewhat, even when helped out by conferring with the surveying party's chief, Gilbert Simard. After the killing of the caribou in the afternoon, the four Montagnais "almost spent the night eating some of the meat and drinking tea. They surely had fun because they made a lot of noise and we could hardly sleep at all. I went to their tent myself during the evening and three of them were eating raw marrow (moelle) taken from the bones of the legs. One of them said with a smile to me, that they ate that in order to obtain the same courage (vaillance), the same nerves, as this Caribou had."

J. W. Anderson (1961:29) refers to "rabbit and duck dances" among the James Bay Cree at Moose Factory, Ontario, about 1911, and states (p. 108) that there was feasting and dancing among the Mistassini Cree on their annual return to the post in June.

Through the generous cooperation of Harrison F. Lewis (*in litt.*, September 2 and October 4, 1961), the following additional details of a dance ceremony, as observed by himself, are presented:

"Montagnais dances were not infrequent during the summers (1921–1940) that I spent in regular succession on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. I have, on more than one occasion, heard the regular, simple dance rhythm being produced by beating on a drum of some kind, but only once did I see a dance. That one, I am quite sure, was 'staged' at Matamek, through arrangements made by Mr. Copley Amory, for the benefit of scientists gathered there, in

1931, for the Matamek Conference on Biological Cycles. The participants were all male. They stood in single file in a small circle and the entire file moved slowly around . . . the circle by shuffling haltingly along in short steps in time with the rhythm of instrumental origin. They were dressed in their usual old store clothes. I thought the sight uninspiring.

"The . . . dancers . . . moved forward, front to back. I think the movement was clockwise."

Subsequently two other participants in the Matamek Conference have written me on the subject:

"The dances were put on at night . . . . Many of the delegates including myself took part in the dances and tried to master the step." (Alfred O. Gross, March 19, 1962.) (It is interesting to note that these dances of the Montagnais, like some that I observed among their relatives, the Cree, at Lake Athabaska in 1914, were held at night.)

"I have a confused memory of the Indian dance at Mr. Amory's Matamek Conference. The Indians were going around interminably in a shuffle step, in a small circle with hands on the shoulders in front. Ellsworth Huntington roused us by suddenly joining them!" (Charles Elton, April 16, 1962.)

### *Indian Canoes of the Ungava Peninsula*

During the twentieth century the birch-bark canoe seems to have become fairly obsolete in the Ungava Peninsula. It has been replaced by factory-built canoes or imitations thereof. An excellent first-hand account of the primitive craft is presented by Turner (1894), on the basis of his observations at Fort Chimo and vicinity from 1882 to 1884:

"A point of great dissimilarity between the Naskopies and the Little Whale river [Eastern Cree] Indians is that the birch-bark canoe of the latter is much more turned up at each end, producing a craft well adapted to the swift currents of the rivers. The occupants are skillful boatmen, and will fearlessly face wind and wave that would appall the heart of the Naskopie." (P. 182.)

"All the Indians of this [Koksoak River] region use birch-bark canoes, of the pattern shown in the [lower] figure (Pl. XXXIX, from a photograph; . . .). The style of canoe used by the Little Whale river Indians . . . has very much more sheer at the bow and stern than those used in the valley of the Koksoak." (Pp. 304–305.)

"There are two kinds of canoes in use among those Indians [of the

Koksoak River], differing only in the shape of the stern and prow. The original form was nearly flat along the rails and had the bow and stern but little turned up. Of later years intercourse with some of their neighbors has induced them to modify the nearly straight edge canoe into an intermediate shape [*cf.* Turner's pl. 39, upper fig.; also pl. 5, figs. 2 and 3, of the present report] between their own and that of the East Main Indians, whose canoes are very much turned up, and are acknowledged to be far superior vessels to those of the Ungava Indians." (P. 306.)

"As the forests in the vicinity of Fort Chimo do not contain birch trees, and none are found until the headwaters of the Koksoak [actually the middle course of the Kaniapiskau] are reached, where they are too small to afford bark of sufficient size and thickness, the Indians are compelled to procure the bark from the traders, who import it from the St. Lawrence river and gulf stations" (p. 306).

"Without the birch-bark canoe the Indian would have difficulty in obtaining his living, as it is even more necessary than the sled, and nearly as useful as the snowshoe" (p. 307).

Turner's plate 39 (see pl. 5, fig. 3, of the present report) shows that the Naskapi canoe has no decking, either fore or aft; there are five thwarts.

Half a century before Turner's time, Nicol Finlayson wrote of the Naskapi in the Fort Chimo area going inland on journeys of four or five days in search of birch bark for their canoes.

Low (1896:32) speaks of the canoe birch attaining a larger size in that area than elsewhere north of Nichicun Lake or the upper Hamilton Basin: "At Cambrian Lake [on the Kaniapiskau River about 110 miles south of Fort Chimo], where the limestones are encountered and the river-valley is deep and protracted, the size of the tree improves, and birches six inches in diameter are not uncommon."

Finally, Sebastien McKenzie informed me that there is much canoe birch in the vicinity of Fort McKenzie, and there the Naskapi used to make canoes of it. This area is a northern outpost of the species in the Ungava Peninsula.

Tanner (1947, 2:694, fig. 290) shows a Naskapi canoe very similar in shape and construction to that in Turner (1894:pl. 39, lower fig.), except that the covering seems to be canvas rather than birch bark. So much transformation had evidently taken place in the half century between Turner's time and Tanner's. (See also pl. 6, fig. 3, of the present report.)

"Canoes are frequently used [by the Naskapi] for a portion of the

trip in or out of the country. These resemble the Montagnais canoe in type. At present they are usually canvas-covered, owing to the absence of birch of suitable size." (Waugh, 1925:133.)

Skinner's account (1911:42–43) of the canoes and canoeing of the Eastern Cree is well worth quoting:

"Most of the summer traveling to and from Hudson's Bay is done by canoe along the rivers. The canoe birch does not grow to a large size in the northern part of the range of the Eastern Cree, or else the bigger trees have been destroyed by the Indians so that birchbark canoes are becoming rarer every year at Eastmain River Fort and Rupert's House. Owing to this scarcity, those seen by the writer were made of many small pieces of bark.

"Owing to the difficulty in obtaining birchbark it has long been imported in rolls for canoe and tent-making. Now, however, most canoes and wigwams are covered with canvas purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. At Rupert's House, in 1908, there was not a single birchbark canoe, all those seen were canvas-covered.

"The Eastern Cree canoes have lower and less rounded bows than those of the Ojibway, who border the southern part of their country. The writer was informed, however, that the canoes used at Fort George, and in Ungava and northward along the Hudson's Bay proper, have such very high bows that they are called 'crooked' canoes. This is to aid in battling with the waves in the open sea.

"Canoes average twelve or fifteen feet in length, but those used by the Labrador voyageurs are often twice that size and sometimes more. They are capable of bearing enormous weights, and many will hold twenty or more men. The paddles used are short and rather clumsy. They have no swelling at the end of the handle to facilitate the grip. In paddling, the Eastern Cree take shorter and more jerky strokes than their Ojibway neighbors on the south. . . . In shooting rapids, the men at the bow and stern (the bowsman, by the way, is considered the leader) always stand upright in the canoe when approaching the head of the rapids and gaze down the stream for a moment, noting the easiest course for travel in an incredibly short space of time. When they reach rapids which are known to be bad, they sometimes go ashore and follow down the stream to examine the course. If the rapids prove wild, the canoe is then lightened and they proceed, or portage around, as the case may be. All steering in the rapids is done from the bow, the man in the stern merely keeping the boat straight. In ascending streams, it is usual to pole up

many of the rapids. This is accomplished by pushing from the bow and stern. Where the water is too deep for poles and too swift for paddling, the canoe is towed from the shore by one of the voyageurs. Bundles are carried across portages by means of a burden strap which passes across the forehead. However, not a single specimen of 'tump line' of aboriginal make was observed."

A photograph that Skinner took of canoes at Eastmain in 1908 is reproduced as plate 2, figure 1. These doubtless include the very canoes on which he based his remark (p. 42) as to their being "made of very small pieces of bark." The majority of the canoes that appear in his photograph were evidently covered with canvas.

His further remarks on the Cree ways and means of shooting rapids (and especially the habit of standing upright in the canoe to inspect rapids ahead) bring vividly to mind the identical actions of three Ojibway canoemen from the Sault Ste. Marie area, who accompanied an expedition of the Geological Survey of Canada to Great Slave Lake in 1914 and ran many rapids on the Tazin and Taltson rivers. (See also J. W. Anderson, 1961:113.)

Alcock (1948:pl. 1) has published a photograph of a large, decorated, birch-bark canoe, with a crew of at least six men, on Lake Mistassini. It bears the following caption: "Party of A. P. Low on Lake Mistassini, Que., 1885." This canoe bears a general resemblance to the Cree canoes photographed by Skinner (pl. 2, fig. 1, of the present report) at Eastmain, but it has a more decidedly upturned bow and stern. It may be presumed to represent a type in use among the Mistassini Cree three-quarters of a century ago.

J. L. Véronneau, who has been engaged in winter surveys for a number of years in Cree territory, chiefly about the headwaters of Eastmain River, writes (*in litt.*, May 31, 1961) as if he had observed no birch-bark canoes in all that area, other than some very old frames on an island in a lake near Sakami River (about lat. 53°); these may have been originally covered with bark.

On James Bay the building of birchbarks ceased about the turn of the century, but a few were still being made at Mistassini between 1913 and 1918 (J. W. Anderson, 1961:51, 104).

Hind, whose work (1863) deals mainly with the Montagnais territory along the North Shore of the Gulf, presents a number of sketches of birch-bark canoes. While there is some variation, most of these approximate the type that is figured by Waugh (1919:pl. 1, fig. 6) as a Montagnais canoe, and which bears a close similarity to

the Naskapi type. Waugh offers practically no other information concerning it; possibly his sketch was based upon Hind's figures. By his time the use of the Montagnais birchbark may have practically died out. In 1953 I saw no Montagnais canoe of a primitive type, nor did I hear of any.

The Indians of the Mingan area "excel in the structure of canoes, and the amount of labor and substantial work put on them is astonishing—indeed, it is the only good piece of work made by them" (Couper, 1868:9).

Referring to his annual cruises along the North Shore, 1921–1940, Harrison F. Lewis writes (*in litt.*, September 22, 1961): "I have repeatedly seen Montagnais building canoes, but I do not believe that they covered the frames, in my time, with birch bark."

Howard Cleaves (*in litt.*, August 7, 1961) noticed no birch-bark canoes during a cruise along the eastern part of the North Shore of the Gulf in 1927, but he photographed a Montagnais making a canvas-covered canoe.

Miss Leitch (1956:22–23) shows in several photographs the building of the latter type of canoes by Montagnais at Mingan and Romaine.

Some general remarks by Waugh (1919) may be included here:

"The factory-made canoe, though modelled after the Indian article, has, in fact, so far eclipsed it that it is seldom seen except among remote and backward bands of Indians who employ it mainly from economy or conservatism" (p. 28).

"The seams in all barked canoes are gummed" (p. 32).

"An inside gunwale to which the upper edge of the covering is sewn continuously, is found among the Chipewyan, Ojibwa, Montagnais and Micmac" (p. 33).

Jenness scarcely discusses the canoes of any of the natives of the Ungava Peninsula, except to reproduce (1955:106, fig. 6) Waugh's figure of the Montagnais type. He adds (p. 108): "Bark canoes varied somewhat from tribe to tribe, in the amount of curvature at bow and stern, in the decking of the ends, and in a few other details."

### *Some Contributors to the Ethnology of the Ungava Peninsula*

The reader of the foregoing pages may be interested in the following slight sketches of some of those who laid the foundations of the regional ethnology. It was my great privilege to enjoy friendly relations with four of them—Cabot, Townsend, Speck, and Skinner. The few bits of information on their professional and personal qual-

ities may enhance the reader's appreciation of their writings, as exemplified in the numerous quotations that have been presented.

Henry Youle Hind (1823–1908) was of British birth, but spent his adult life as a Canadian teacher, geologist, and explorer. After experience as geologist of the Red River expedition of 1857, he was in command of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition of 1858 and of the Labrador expedition of 1861. He published reports on all three of these expeditions, including a two-volume account of the third (London, 1863). (Dict. Nat. Biog., supplement 1901–1911, 1:267–268.)

Although Hind's travels in the interior were not so extensive as might be suggested by the title of his volumes, he produced a very readable and useful work—in fact, a Labrador classic. It probably deals more fully with the Montagnais and the Naskapi than any previous account since the time of the early Jesuits. At his period the Indians had the advantage of leading a much more primitive and natural life than a century later, and of not having received such a strong infusion of alien blood as the present generation. Some of his characters stand out as individual personalities—not merely as unnamed representatives of tribal groups. There are also notes on the flora and fauna and the devastating effect of forest fires. In no other work have I found such glowing appreciation of the fairyland of Labrador lichens and mosses (see 1:182).

"Hind leaves a vivid narrative of the difficult southern wooded hills of the Canadian Labrador" (Elton, 1942:241).

Perhaps few scientific men alive today have any personal recollection of Lucien McShan Turner (1848–1909), who spent two years (1882–1884) in the Ungava Peninsula, with headquarters at Fort Chimo. While there he labored prodigiously and effectively in the field of natural history as well as in ethnology. The Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution published his monumental treatise on the Eskimos and the Naskapi in its *Eleventh Annual Report* (1894). His collection of Labrador and Ungava birds and mammals still remains at the United States National Museum; likewise his notable unpublished manuscripts on mammals, birds, and fishes. The one on mammals contains probably more real information on the life history of Cabot's Caribou than may be found in all the publications on that species.

In contrast to Turner's widely and favorably known works on the zoology and ethnology of both Arctic Alaska and Arctic and Sub-

arctic Ungava, extremely little has appeared in print concerning his personal life. So far as I have ascertained, there has not been even an obituary notice in any scientific journal. He was a boyhood companion of Robert Ridgway, the distinguished ornithologist (1850–1929), in Mt. Carmel, Illinois. "In 1864" Turner's mother suggested to young Robert "that he write to the Patent Office in Washington for information about certain birds which puzzled him" (Stone, 1935: 598). He thus became engaged in correspondence with Spencer F. Baird; this was the beginning of an association that lasted as long as the latter lived, and it eventually resulted in Ridgway's career as curator of birds in the United States National Museum. He in turn opened the way for Turner's appointment for field service, first in Alaska (1874–1877, 1878–1881) and later in Ungava (1882–1884). Turner's primary duties in each region were the keeping of meteorological records for the Signal Corps, and for that purpose he enlisted in the Army; but a considerable portion of his time was left free for collections and observations in natural history, and his eventual publications bear ample testimony to his zeal and marked ability in that field.

The record of Turner's second enlistment in the Signal Corps, March 6, 1878, provides the following information: "Born in Main[e]-ville, Ohio. Aged 29 8/12 years. Has grey eyes, dark hair, and dark complexion. Is 5 feet, 7¼ inches high." His discharge record, May 24, 1882, bears the notation: "Character 'Excellent.'" (Memorandum from Paul J. Scheips, U. S. Army Signal Historical Office, March 20, 1962.)

Among Turner's letters in the Smithsonian Archives, there is one from Mt. Carmel as early as 1869, in which he describes birds, eggs, and nests collected; he also states that he had learned taxidermy from Ridgway. Other letters were written from St. Michael's, Alaska (1875–1876), San Francisco (1877), and Washington, D. C. (1877–1887). While he was in Alaska, numerous letters were received at the Smithsonian from his wife, Mary E. Turner, in Mt. Carmel. A letter from Turner in 1886 indicates that he had been a bricklayer by trade. (Abstracts of the foregoing letters have been very kindly supplied by Mrs. Margaret C. Blaker, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, *in litt.*, January 12, 1962.)

Further information on Turner's life has been gleaned from the Ridgway Collection at McGill University. The material consists of 29 letters written by Turner between 1873 and 1895 to his lifelong friend, Robert Ridgway. They have been made available through

the courtesy of Mrs. J. Schachter, of the Blacker-Wood Library at McGill. Unless otherwise indicated, the letters were written from Mt. Carmel, Illinois. Abstracts follow.

November 24, 1873. This letter deals mainly with the making of a local collection of snakes, and includes notes on habits, coloration, and taxonomic characters. Turner was then apparently engaged in teaching and finding it something of a strain. He tells of his boy learning to talk, and of a rabbit hunt planned with Ridgway's father.

March 31, 1874. Announcing an early departure for San Francisco and an intention to take his wife along—though surely not all the way to Alaska, where the climatic and social rigors were to prove a sufficiently severe ordeal for Turner himself. (His headquarters from 1874 to 1877 were at St. Michael's.)

December 14, 1877 (after three years in Alaska). Arranging with Robert Ridgway's brother, John L., for drawings of native articles to accompany his report on Alaskan Eskimos. Wants another mission —to Alaska, Commander Islands, or elsewhere ("am not particular where").

December 17, 1877. A box of bird skins received (from Alaska?). John Ridgway has prepared a series of illustrations for the approval of Major J. W. Powell, director of the Bureau of Ethnology.

December 31, 1877. Working on (local?) fishes; has already described 60 species. Desires a copy of a large, illustrated work on turtles (by Agassiz?) that he had seen in the Smithsonian. Needs to obtain work for a living. Still interested in the (Commander?) Islands.

February 18, 1878. Anxious to hear about chances for a job at St. Paul's Island. "I must do something shortly."

February 20, 1878. Ready to take a Signal Corps job at St. Paul's Island. Refers to a projected visit to Mt. Carmel in March by Ridgway and Dr. T. M. Brewer, the ornithologist.

February 26, 1878. In regard to passing a physical examination for the Signal Service.

March 25, 1878. Returning by train to Mt. Carmel (presumably from Washington). Remarks on spring birds and vegetation.

November 10, 1878, Unalaska Island. This island a "desert" for collecting. Desires a transfer to Attu Island, where birds are reported as abundant. (Meteorological) observations take up much of his time. Notes on a few birds.

June 20, 1879, Atka Island. Gets very tired. Weather "simply frightful." Turner the only white person there; has become able to speak, read, and write Russian quite well. "My teeth chatter over

the sesquipedalian polysyllabic conglomerations of this fearfully compound language."

Unalaska "one of the worst places on the face of the globe. A continual round of drunkenness and worse." Just two white men there.

Notes on birds sent. Turner's birthday on June 20. Does his own cooking, house-cleaning, bed-making, and ironing. Made the first loaf of bread of his life. "This is a hard life, but it has its pleasantries." Game is scarce. "I have the privilege of writing up my own birds this time."

October 24, 1881 (on returning to Mt. Carmel). Has no desire for any duplicates of his Alaskan birds. "Prof. S. F. Baird remarked . . . that it would be better to await my return before the last boxes were opened." "The 'Corwin' has arrived at San Francisco. [E. W.] Nelson should be on her."

November 11, 1881. Donating to the National Museum a collection of 1,077 birds made by himself and Samuel Turner. All but one of them collected in the vicinity of Mt. Carmel. Plans to start for Washington on the 18th.

July 2, 1882, Rigolet, Labrador. Arrived here after a voyage of 14 days from Quebec, and has made a collection of birds. Hopes his (Alaskan) report is in the hands of the printer.

September 1, 1882, Fort Chimo, Ungava. Arrived here on August 6, after a 63-day trip from Quebec. Describes the Labrador coast. Chimo, 23 miles from the river's mouth, contains three dwellings. Much pleased with the prospect. Made collections at Davis Inlet as well as at Rigolet. Hopes to be able to send (via London) 2,000 bird skins by December, 1883. "I assure you that the white man here forms a pleasant contrast to the drunken scamps of Alaska." Turner's Indian bodyguard is so slim that he bears the nickname of "Ghost."

"I think I shall have a very interesting report on this part of the globe. . . . Birds are very plentiful. . . . I shall not fail to properly record everything pertaining to the natural history of this place."

"The deer [caribou] were so plentiful in this village in June that the women had to drive [them] off with sticks to prevent the animals from knocking down the tents."

August 28, 1883, Fort Chimo. Professor Baird had written that he would endeavor to have Turner's Alaskan report published by the Smithsonian. Part of his Alaskan notes had inadvertently been taken with him to Ungava. Ridgway is thanked for news of Turner's own family. Turner had gone to a great deal of trouble in preparing his

bird specimens and packing them for shipment. By that time he had collected about 1,100 birds. From April 10 to July 20 he had suffered such agonizing torture from writer's cramp that he had not been able to use his hand. This condition had been brought on by writing stories related to him by the natives.

The man in charge at Chimo was not an educated man nor at all in sympathy with Turner's work.

On the departure of the supply vessels in the fall, Turner was planning a trip to the falls higher up the Koksoak. (Some of his bird specimens came from The Forks, where the Kaniapiskau and the Larch join to form the Koksoak. So far as known, he did not ascend farther upstream.) He had seen thousands of caribou.

He had not found the field of ethnology here so varied and attractive as in Alaska. Meanwhile he had suffered the loss of his best assistant, Mrs. Maggie Brown, wife of the cooper at the post. She was a nice little lady, of Indian and English ancestry, and spoke English that was superior to the general average at Fort Chimo. She had taught Turner to speak Eskimo and was beginning to instruct him in Indian [Naskapi] when she died. She had been able to secure, in his behalf, things that the natives would not permit a white man to touch. (This otherwise unnamed collaborator of Turner's may now, some four-score years later, be granted a little of the credit due for her unselfish and devoted labors.)

Turner had had news from his home up to May, 1883. He had also received "quite a nice letter indeed" from Dr. Leonhard Stejneger, written in Russian, English, and German.

September 3, 1884, Fort Chimo, Ungava. This note lists the packages (and their contents) that had been shipped to the Smithsonian in 1884. He was to leave the next day for Rigolet on his way home.

December 22, 1884, Smithsonian Institution. A note to Ridgway (in New York City) expresses thanks for three hummingbirds received. A Dr. [B. H.?] Warren was to finish, on the next day, the cataloguing of Turner's specimens in Ridgway's book.

December 11, 1885, Smithsonian Institution. A note about arrangements for illustrating Turner's report.

January 26, 1886, Smithsonian Institution. The data of the Unalaska collection can be supplied on receipt of the original numbers of the specimens. (These last two notes suggest that Turner may have stayed on in Washington for more than a year after his return from Ungava.)

October 25, 1888, and January 20, 1889, Huntingburg, Indiana. These notes, written on letterheads of the Bureau of Pensions, Department of the Interior, are a sad indication that Turner, with all his fine talents in zoology and ethnology, had apparently exhausted, before the age of 40, the opportunities of contributing those talents through further service with some scientific branch of the government. It is a lamentable commentary on the pitifully slight prospects of those days, in comparison with the astronomical sums spent annually on scientific projects at the present time. In the first note Turner writes: "I have no time for birds; nothing but writing all the time." Although a few local birds of the winter season are mentioned in the second note, he adds: "I get so little time for private correspondence that I have almost quit writing to anyone." He mentions sending, for Mrs. Ridgway, "three salted Reindeer [caribou?] tongues." Were these mementoes of the Ungava trip, from which he had returned more than four years previously?

March 30, May 2, and December 31, 1894, and January 15, January 29, April 24, and April 28, 1895, Seattle, Washington. The five years from 1889 to 1894 represent an apparent blank in Turner's life. He then writes seven letters from Seattle. In some of these letters we find a little reference to business of an unspecified nature; this led, in 1894, to the prospect of a trip "east of the Cascades and into the arid region of the state." The letters refer mainly to observations on, and collections of, birds, and to a steady desire for acquiring publications on birds. "Reading matter is scarce with me." In some cases bird skins were to be supplied in exchange for the publications, such as Baird, Brewer and Ridgway's *History of North American Birds*. He also expresses a desire for the American Ornithologists' Union Check-List. On January 29, 1895, he writes: "I gather a few birds at odd times with the intention, ultimately, of preparing a sketch of the bird life of this state. I have collected 107 species in the past ten months, representing about 80 genera and 633 specimens."

He speaks of having much leisure time during the rainy season (October to May), and of desiring to spend this time in collecting birds, in return "for a small sum sufficient to pay my expenses. . . . I will secure fine specimens and put them up in good form for 33⅓ cents each," regardless of size. Ridgway not only offered to take skins on these terms, but apparently induced William Brewster, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, to place an order with Turner for "30 skins of each bird less in size than a jay . . . and 10 each of larger birds."

At this time (April 24, 1895) Turner wrote that "I need money more than books," and so deferred obtaining the Baird, Brewer, and Ridgway work by means of barter.

The final letter (April 28, 1895) tells of a recent act of the state legislature, imposing a $50 fine for the killing of any song bird and making no provision for scientific collecting. Turner suggests a statement from Ridgway, and perhaps also from G. Brown Goode and Charles E. Bendire, that might be helpful in the matter of a permit and thus enable him to avoid "difficulty with some over-zealous ignoramus."

The history of American zoology and ethnology during the past hundred years can furnish few examples of such a distinguished and at the same time such an elusive personality as Lucien M. Turner has hitherto represented. His years beyond 1895 still constitute an enigma.

As for Ungava alone, the world will be forever in his debt for his unforgettable pictures of the Eskimos, the Naskapi, and the caribou and other creatures under primitive conditions, while they still remained largely unspoiled by contact with civilization.

The letters and other biographical materials that have recently come to light, together with additional details that are likely to be unearthed, will make possible a fuller and more adequate account of Turner's life than the present sketch.

Powell (1894:xli–xlii) writes that from 1874 to 1884, with slight intermissions, Turner engaged, under the direction of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in the study of the Innuit (Eskimos) and adjacent tribes. This study was commenced in Alaska and continued in Ungava. "The customs of daily life, religious observances, mythology, arts, and folk lore of both peoples are set forth with orderly method, in spirited style and with abundant illustration."

"Lucien Turner includes, in his ethnographic studies on Ungava natives, some careful notes about the scenery and resources" (Elton, 1942:241).

"The chief scientific source [of authoritative knowledge of the Ungava people] is the lavish report by Lucien Turner [1894]" (Elton, 1942:347).

Turner's Alaskan activity, in collecting zoological, botanical, and ethnological material, was "a truly remarkable achievement when considered in connection with his other duties" (Gabrielson and Lincoln, 1959:9).

The undated and retouched portrait published herewith (pl. 14, fig. 2) is from the files of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The other photograph (pl. 15, fig. 1), showing Turner in his winter quarters at Fort Chimo, is from a negative transferred recently from the United States National Museum to the Bureau of American Ethnology. Although the negative was not accompanied by any data, its identity is established satisfactorily by the following intrinsic evidence: the close mutual resemblance of the subjects of both photographs, including a vertical ridge or scar on the forehead above the left eye (mostly retouched out of the formal portrait); the calendar on the wall, bearing the date February, 18 . . , showing 29 days in that month (therefore in a leap year, 1884), and issued by John D. Park[er], a stationer and bookseller of Washington, D. C.; the meteorological instruments in two glass cases; the word "Species" written across the top of the largest sheet of paper on the wall; and, finally, the use of the same stereoscopic camera for this photograph as for the one reproduced as plate 5, figure 1. These features are more discernible in the original photograph than in the halftone engraving.

The foregoing part of this sketch had left my hands, when the following additional information on Turner was derived from records very kindly furnished by the National Archives.

"Lucien Turner" was enrolled on May 14, 1864, in Company H, 136th Regiment of Indiana Infantry, and was mustered out, with the company, on September 2, 1864, as a private. (This is not the original record of enlistment, but a War Department memorandum, dated January 9, 1920.) Although his age, on enrollment, was recorded as "19," he was actually, at that time, several weeks less than 16. Like many other eager youngsters of that period, he must have falsified his age in order to enlist.

A "Lucien Turner," giving his age as 18 years and his occupation as a farmer, volunteered at Indianapolis, Indiana, on March 1, 1865, for a period of one year in Company I, 80th Regiment of Indiana Volunteers. His birthplace was recorded as "Wabash County [in which Mt. Carmel is located], Illinois." Physical characteristics were recorded as: hazel eyes, dark hair, fair complexion, and a height of 5 feet 4 inches. (These characteristics correspond in general with those given on his enlistment record in the Signal Corps, March 8, 1878. But his actual age at this time was only 16.)

Turner married Mary E. Lutz on March 14, 1869, at Mt. Carmel, Illinois. She had been born there on July 4, 1850. While still resid-

ing there, they had two sons: Jesse J. (born in 1872) and Eugene S. (born in 1878). The former was living at Dalkena, Washington, as late as 1919. Aside from the mere record of Turner's death in San Francisco on April 8, 1909, his last years remain very much of an enigma.

The name of L. M. Turner is intimately connected with a Naskapi Indian exhibit installed several years ago in the United States National Museum (pl. 19). The toboggan has his name painted on it. The two thin planks of which it is composed were perhaps originally part of a packing-case in which Turner's meteorological instruments were shipped to Fort Chimo, the planks being brought back later in the form of a small toboggan. This one is only about 6 feet long and 1 foot wide. The remaining material in the exhibit consists of: a man's winter clothing of caribou skin; a doll representing a woman's winter clothing; a wooden cup in which red, blue, and yellow paints were prepared for garments; two fork-shaped objects of bone, used in applying the paint in parallel lines to the garments; a tobacco pipe; two bone scrapers; and, on the wall at the right, a pair of Naskapi snowshoes. At least most of this material was collected by Turner. The other pair of snowshoes belonged to the Kutchin tribe (of the far northwest).

As an engineer by profession, William Brooks Cabot (1858–1949) was engaged in the construction of many important works, including bridges across the Charles and Connecticut rivers, a dock at the Boston Navy Yard, and the Catskill aqueduct. "Five trips to Labrador . . . made the subject matter of a book, 'In Northern Labrador' (1912). . . . He contributed the introduction to Mrs. Leonidas Hubbard's 'A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador' (1908)" [London], and a chapter on Indians in Grenfell's 'Labrador' (1909). He was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. (Nat. Cycl. Am. Biog. 38:537, 1953.)

"Mr. William B. Cabot of Boston, who for several years has made an annual visit to the Montagnais Indians of Labrador, and who has edited a dictionary of their language, has had unique opportunities for observing their habits. He has contributed a valuable monograph from his special experiences." (Grenfell, 1922:vii.)

"Business and the love of the shrinking wilderness carried Cabot into the Canadian woods where in 1899 he formed a close personal friendship with two half-Indian guides who tutored him in their way of life. In 1903 he fell in with Dr. Grenfell whose enthusiasm for Lab-

rador was responsible for Cabot's turning his interests in that direction for the rest of his life." (Shipton, 1950:8.)

For a most delightful and intimate sketch of the former way of life among the Naskapi of Indian House Lake, one will turn again and again to the pages of Cabot's masterpiece, *In Northern Labrador.*

Dr. Charles W. Townsend (1859–1934), a physician of Boston, with a primary avocation in ornithology, was a worthy member of the school of New England nature writers exemplified by Henry D. Thoreau, Wilson Flagg, Bradford Torrey, Frank Bolles, William Brewster, Winthrop Packard, Francis H. Allen, and Edward A. Preble. Aside from his favorite Ipswich sand dunes and salt marshes, coastal Labrador had a very special attraction for him. This resulted in three volumes (1907, 1910, and 1918) on that region, as well as several contributions to ornithological journals and one to a geographical journal; also a comprehensive work on the birds of Labrador (1907, in collaboration with Glover M. Allen), a chapter on birds in Grenfell's *Labrador* (1922), and the editing of a modern edition (1911) of Captain Cartwright's Labrador journal (1792). Here and there he made interesting and useful observations on the Montagnais.

"A strong, positive nature, generous of heart, active in mind and body, ever quick to see the humor of a situation, he was a delightful companion in the field and a keen observer." (Allen, 1935:231–232.)

The official reports of Albert Peter Low (1861–1942) in the publications of the Geological Survey of Canada, while devoted primarily to geology and geography, contain a very considerable fund of valuable information on the several groups or tribes of Ungava natives, and on fauna and flora as well. He was fortunate in knowing the Indians at a fairly primitive stage of their existence (in the 1880's and 1890's).

"Here [in Low's reports] is a noble pattern drawn from years of travel and clear insight into the land. . . .

"Such journeys [as Low's] put everything except light Indian travel in the shade. . . . The results are set down in a full, scholarly way, and from the broadest point of view." (Elton, 1942:241.)

"Ranking with the greatest of these [accomplishments of the Geological Survey of Canada in his day] were the achievements of Low in traversing and investigating the vast hitherto unexplored spaces of Labrador Peninsula. . . .

"The Ungava or Labrador peninsula was crossed in both an east

and west and in a north and south direction. Many of the larger rivers and lakes were mapped, and some of the coast examined. The winter of 1893–1894 was spent in the field. In these two years alone, Low traveled 5460 miles; by canoe 2960 miles, on vessel 1000 miles, with dog teams 500 miles, and on foot 1000 miles . . . .

"Coupled with his energy was his interest in all branches of natural history, a great organizing ability, and a faculty for dealing with men and for making friends. The cessation of his services was a great loss to Canada." (Alcock, 1944:195, 196, 198, pl. 9 [portrait].)

Frank G. Speck (1881–1950) was a man of exceptional qualifications for his chosen career, and one thoroughly deserving the admiration and high esteem of those who had the privilege of knowing him. He had a genuine concern for the individual and tribal welfare of his numerous Indian friends, as well as a gift for inspiring their confidence and gaining intimate acquaintance with them. His steadfast championing of their rights is manifest throughout his writings. His volume, *Naskapi* (1935), together with the considerable number of his journal articles on the Montagnais-Naskapi (the term by which he expressed his opinion that the two groups are essentially one), gave him a preëminent position among the ethnologists who have specialized on the Ungava Peninsula.

"The work of Speck [1931] is the chief modern source of information [on the Indians of the Ungava Peninsula]. Like Strong, who helped him with notes from Labrador, Speck sought for Indian folktales and customs. He also made inquiry from many people, including Indian chiefs, aiming at a map of the distribution of each band. His map, as he admits himself, is oversimplified, and must be only a rough and ready approximation to the old Indian hunting and trapping grounds. The separate existence of a few is even doubtful. But this knowledge is the best we have and is enlarged by Speck's thumbnail histories of each band." (Elton, 1942:249.)

"Most conspicuous was his ability to communicate with his fellowman. Speck met any man on his own ground, and from each he evoked what was worthy and constructive. Closely related to this was his tremendous enthusiasm for and interest in all phases of natural history and human experience." (Witthoft, 1950:2.)

"All his work bears the earmarks of high substantiality. . . .

"The many Indians who knew him will have lost one of their most welcome visitors and devoted friends." (Hallowell, 1951:68, 75.)

Speck "viewed 'his' tribes in a romantic light, as exotic and alien

survivals of a primitive and—to him—golden age." He once remarked "that he always preferred the more primitive tribes to study." (A. F. C. Wallace, 1951:287.)

*Outlines of the Geography, Life & Customs of Newfoundland-Labrador* (2 vol., 1947), by Väinö Tanner (1881–1948), will be a lasting monument to that distinguished Finnish geographer, geologist, sociologist, and ethnologist. Its excellent composition, in a language so different from that of his native land, forms no small part of the author's accomplishment. His masterly digest of the voluminous literature on the subjects of which he treats, produced by the scholars of many different countries, is another notable feat. Especially commendable is his very sympathetic understanding of the natives of Labrador.

There is a memorial (in Swedish) by his former assistant, E. H. Kranck (1953).

Alanson Skinner (1886–1925) grew up on Staten Island at a time when it still contained sufficient open spaces—fields and woods and archaeological sites—to inspire a budding naturalist, especially when he had the companionship and encouragement of such a mentor as William T. Davis (1862–1945), author of *Days Afield on Staten Island* (1892). From boyhood on, Skinner was full of energy, enthusiasm, and love of Indian lore. With such gifts he had a notable career at the American Museum of Natural History, the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), and the Milwaukee Public Museum, until cut off prematurely before reaching the age of forty. His "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux" (1911), a presentation copy of which I have treasured for half a century, has been my principal source on the Cree of the James Bay area.

"Probably no one alive today has so thorough and detailed a knowledge of the Central Algonkian tribes" (Harrington, 1926: 275).

"The gatherings of his short but busy life are of the greatest value and importance to anthropology" (Hough, 1935:197).

*Acknowledgments*

Aside from the reference, at the beginning of this report, to the support received from the Arctic Institute of North America, the Office of Naval Research, the Office of The Surgeon General, Department of the Army, and the National Science Foundation, it is a

pleasure to acknowledge the very friendly hospitality of the Iron Ore Company of Canada throughout my sojourn in the Ungava Peninsula. Dr. A. E. Moss, then chief geologist of the company, together with numerous others—for the most part officials or employees of the company—did a great deal to smooth my way and to make my summer's work a most memorable and enjoyable experience. The names of many of them appear here and there in the pages of this and other reports, as contributors of much useful information.

I must, moreover, express my particular gratitude to the Montagnais friends who generously provided me with opportunities for learning and recording something of their interesting ways of life. Their names, activities, and portraits appear chiefly in the latter part of this report.

In the protracted task of assembling portraits of, and biographical data on, some of the pioneer ethnologists who pursued their investigations in the Ungava Peninsula, I have been distinctly aided by the following individuals and institutions: Frederick J. Alcock, Howard Cleaves, Harold J. Coolidge, Mrs. Joseph R. Coolidge, W. Earl Godfrey, E. H. Kranck, Mrs. Frank G. Speck, Mrs. Wendell Taber, the American Philosophical Society, the Bureau of American Ethnology (through Henry B. Collins and Mrs. Margaret C. Blaker), the Geological Survey of Canada (through J. M. Harrison), the Public Archives of Canada (through the National Gallery of Canada Ottawa), and James T. White & Company. Paul J. Scheips, of the United States Army Signal Historical Office, has gone to considerable pains to transmit information from L. M. Turner's service record in the National Archives. The portrait of Turner has benefited by the retouching skill of Miss Marion Seiler.

Other photographs have been contributed by the Smithsonian Institution, Père J. E. Beaudet, Roland C. Clement, Roger O. Standfield (through W. Earl Godfrey), Howard Cleaves, Alfred O. Gross, and Henri Ouellet. The American Museum of Natural History has provided four photographs from James Bay, taken by my late esteemed friend Alanson Skinner. The Bureau of American Ethnology, in the Smithsonian Institution, has providentially turned up, and presented, four ancient photographs taken by Turner himself; they appear herein on plates 5 and 15. Dr. S. H. Riesenberg and Dr. William H. Crocker have been good enough to supply detailed information about the Naskapi exhibit in the United States National Museum (pl. 19).

Contributions of hitherto unpublished information by various

friends (including Père J. E. Beaudet, Howard Cleaves, Charles Elton, Fred Farah, Alfred O. Gross, Bertram H. Harper, Harrison F. Lewis, Henri Ouellet, Gilbert Simard, Mrs. Frank G. Speck, and J. Laurent Véronneau) are gratefully acknowledged at the places in the text where this information has been utilized.

In reviewing the ethnological literature, I have been privileged to make use of the facilities of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, Free Library of Philadelphia, Library of Congress, United States National Museum, University of North Carolina, McGill University, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa Public Library, and Library of Parliament, Ottawa. Through the courtesy of Mrs. J. Schachter, of the Blacker-Wood Library at McGill University, I have received microfilms of 29 letters by Lucien M. Turner in the Ridgway Collection. Mrs. Margaret C. Blaker has very kindly furnished abstracts of various Turner letters in the Smithsonian Archives.

For permission to make quotations, I am glad to express my cordial thanks to the authors or publishers of the following publications: Elton's *Voles, Mice and Lemmings* (1942), Jenness' *The Indians of Canada* (1955), and Miss Leitch's "Montagnais of the Côte Nord" (1956); and to both author and publisher (The Ryerson Press) of Anderson's *Fur Trader's Story* (1961).

Alan Cooke has kindly read the manuscript and given me the benefit of suggestions and criticisms.

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## *Addendum*

After the present paper had reached the proof stage, the following four publications were received—too late to be referred to in the preceding pages. They have particular reference to the Lake Mistassini area and constitute an unusually valuable contribution to the ethnology of the Ungava Peninsula. All those who seek information on the subjects discussed will wish to consult these papers. The Mistassini can no longer be considered "a quite unknown group" (Tanner, 1947, 2:578).

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Fig. 1.—Naskapi country: a view northeastward from Cliff Peak along the northernmost arm of Indian House Lake, Quebec. Note the shoreline of a postglacial lake below the summit in the center. July 1, 1945. Photographed by Roland C. Clement.

Fig. 2.—Montagnais country: log camp of Joseph Gabriel on Iron Arm, Attikamagen Lake, Labrador. (Two geological visitors.) July 1, 1953.

Fig. 1.—Cree village and canoes. Eastmain, James Bay, 1908. Photographed by Alanson Skinner. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.)

Fig. 2.—Cree men. Eastmain, James Bay, 1908. Photographed by Alanson Skinner. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.)

Fig. 1.—Cree girls. Eastmain, James Bay, 1908. Photographed by Alanson Skinner. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.)

Fig. 2.—Cree boys, with bows and arrows. Eastmain, James Bay, 1908. Photo. by Alanson Skinner. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.)

Fig. 1.—Mistassini Cree at Mistassini Post, Quebec, just after the election of a new chief (standing in foreground), who is addressing the voters. Ballot boxes on table behind him. June 30, 1947. Photo. by Roger O. Standfield.

Fig. 2.—Gilbert Simard's surveying party. Leroy Lake, Quebec, August 19, 1953. Left to right: Joseph Georges St. Onge, Raymond Beaudin, Henry Larouche, Ben McKenzie, J. Laurent Véronneau, Georges Michel, Pierre Côté, Gilbert Simard. (First, second, fourth, and sixth Montagnais.)

Fig. 1.—Naskapi camp, with four men, caribou-skin tent, and scaffold.

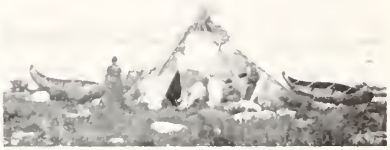

Fig. 2.—Naskapi women and children, caribou-skin tent, and two canoes.

Fig. 3.—Naskapi birch-bark canoe (*cf.* Turner, 1894:pl. 39, upper figure). (Photographs 1–3 taken at Fort Chimo, Koksoak River, Quebec, by Lucien M. Turner, 1882–1884. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology.)

Fig. 4.—A Montagnais camp at Matamek, Quebec, July, 1931. Photographed by Alfred O. Gross.

FIG. 1.—Sebastien McKenzie, in front of his tent, with sealskin coat, leggings, and moccasins. Lac Aulneau, Quebec, July 26, 1953.

FIG. 2.—Sebastien McKenzie, with log on shoulder. Lac Aulneau, Quebec, July 30, 1953.

FIG. 3.—Naskapi man and boy, with native-built canoe. Vicinity of Nain, Labrador, July 8, 1934. Photographed by Alfred O. Gross.

Fig. 1.—Willé Pinette. Knob Lake, Quebec, September 27, 1953.

Fig. 2.—Kom Pinette and family. Ashuanipi River, Labrador, August 26, 1953.

Fig. 1.—Bastien Pinette by the Ashuanipi River, Labrador. September 4, 1953.

Fig. 2.—Michel Pinette drinking from the Ashuanipi River, September 4, 1953.

FIG. 1.—Michel and Bastien Pinette playing mumbledepeg. Ashuanipi River, Labrador, September 4, 1953.

FIG. 2.—Michel Pinette and his sisters. Ashuanipi River, Labrador, September 4, 1953.

Fig. 1.—Michel Pinette, with mooseberries (*Viburnum edule*). Ashuanipi River, Labrador, September 4, 1953.

Fig. 2.—Kom Pinette's wife. Ashuanipi River, Labrador, September 4, 1953.

Fig. 1.—Père J. E. Beaudet, O. M. I. (1902– ), with Ojibway papoose, Simon Lake, near Senneterre, Abitibi, Quebec. Photo. by Bloom Studios, Val d'Or.

Fig. 2.—Jérôme St. Onge and family. Moisie, Quebec, October 10, 1953.

Fig. 1.—Alexandre McKenzie and his wife. Moisie, Quebec, October 10, 1953.

Fig. 2.—Montagnais boys and dogs. Moisie, Quebec, October 10, 1953.

FIG. 1.—Group of Montagnais school boys. Moisie, Quebec, October 10, 1953.

FIG. 2.—Group of Montagnais school girls. Moisie, Quebec, October 10, 1953.

FIG. 1.—Young Montagnais, with snowshoes. Mouth of Natashquan River, Quebec, 1927. Photographed by Howard Cleaves.

FIG. 2.—Lucien McShan Turner (1848–1909). (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology.)

FIG. 1.—L. M. Turner in his winter quarters at Fort Chimo, Quebec, February 1884. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology.)

FIG. 2.—Albert Peter Low (1861–1942) (center), with four Montagnais canoemen from Lake St.John, hauling supplies on Winokapau Lake, Hamilton River, Labrador, in the spring of 1894. (Courtesy of Geological Survey of Canada.)

Fig. 1.—Henry Youle Hind (1823–1908). From *Illustrated London News*, October 2, 1858, p. 318. (Courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada, through the National Gallery of Canada Ottawa.)

Fig. 2.—William Brooks Cabot (1858–1949). From *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (38:pl. opp. p. 537, 1953). (Courtesy of James T. White & Company.)

Fig. 1.—Charles Wendell Townsend (1859–1934) (right), with Julian Huxley. Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1932. (Courtesy of Mrs. Wendell Taber.)

Fig. 2.—Frank G. Speck (1881–1950), with two Algonkian Indians, Timagami, Ontario, 1913. (Courtesy of American Philosophical Society.)

Fig. 1.—Väinö Tanner (1881–1948), with Eskimo assistants at Hebron, Labrador, 1937. (Courtesy of E. H. Kranck.)

Fig. 2.—Alanson Skinner (1886–1925) (left), with young naturalist friends, on the Isaac Wort farm, Rossville, Staten Island, New York, October 3, 1909. Photographed by Howard Cleaves.

Naskapi Indian exhibit in United States National Museum. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.)

A "cracky dog" with cropped ears, held by a forest ranger of the Quebec Department of Lands and Forests. Others of the group are Montagnais Indians. St. Augustin, Quebec, August, 1961. Photographed by Henri Ouellet.

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*16. Natural history of the prairie dog in Kansas. By Ronald E. Smith. Pp. 1–36, 4 plates, 9 figures in text. June 17, 1958.
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*19. Natural History Museum. By Roy R. Moore and E. R. Hall. [An unpaged, illustrated "flier," 14½ in. × 8½ in., printed on both sides, and folded twice.] May 29, 1959.
20. Handbook of gastropods in Kansas. By A. Byron Leonard. Pp. 1–224, plates 1–11, 87 figures in text. November 2, 1959. Paperbound, $1.00 (cloth $2.00) postpaid.
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22. Hand-list of the birds of Kansas. By Richard F. Johnston. Pp. 1–6 [folded twice]. May 7, 1960.
*23. Directory to the bird-life of Kansas. By Richard F. Johnston. Pp. 1–69, 1 figure in text. August 31, 1960.
*24. Natural History Museum. By Roy R. Moore and E. R. Hall. [An unpaged, illustrated "flier," 14½ in. × 8½ in., printed on both sides, and folded twice.] October 19, 1960.
25. Guide to the panorama of North American mammals. By E. Raymond Hall, *et al.* Pp. 1–31, silhouettes in black and white of panorama, life-zones, and taped commentary for each zone. December 15, 1960.

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26. Beaver in Kansas. By F. Robert Henderson. Pp. 1–85, illustrated. December 16, 1960.
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